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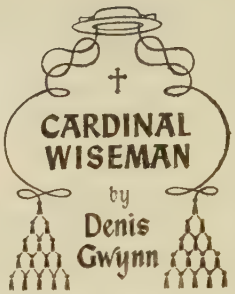

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WHEN Dr. Coffey resigned the presidency of University College, Dublin in 1940, the academic body of the College was practically unanimous in desiring Dr. Conway as his successor. Conway, then in his sixty-fifth year, had reached an age when a man less sound in health and mental vigour might have shrunk from a task which, in the nature of the case, was specially onerous. His candidature was unopposed and he was duly appointed by the Senate of the National University.

That his colleagues should have given him so clear a call to the presidency is due to two distinct considerations, each of much force. During his long career in the College he had been continually engaged on mathematical research at the highest level. There was hardly any doubt that, if scholarship be allowed to determine precedence in academic matters, his position as the greatest man of learning the College had produced was beyond dispute. Secondly, over an equally long period he had taken part in the administration of the College. Other men had perhaps similar lengths of service on boards and committees of the College and the University. But no one had had an equal opportunity to acquire the inner knowledge so specially valuable when the College was passing out of the control of its first President. Conway's career naturally divides at his entry on the presidency. While his life was always that of a scholar, we shall have to consider him mainly as a mathematical physicist before 1940 and as an administrator in the relatively short but very important interval between his appointment to the presidency and his resignation in 1947.

I

Arthur William Conway, son of Myles Conway of Wexford, was born in that city on the 2nd of October 1875. He received his early education at St. Peter's College, Wexford. Coming to University College Dublin in the autumn of 1892 as a resident student, he was allotted by Father Darlington a room in the highest storey of 86 Stephen's Green. He entered for the Matriculation examination of the Royal University in the summer of 1893. This was at that time an honours examination and the record shows that Conway passed with honours in Latin, English, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. In due course he proceeded in 1896 to the B.A. degree and in 1897 to the M.A. degree of the Royal University, taking the highest honours in the mathematical group. He went on to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. There in a much wider field he had the same uniform record of success. In due course he became the University Scholar in mathematics in the year 1901. Meanwhile he had been made a Junior Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland in 1900

and a Senior Fellow in 1901. It is stated that, like many able Irishmen of the period, he had intended to compete for the First Division of the Civil Service or the Indian Civil Service; but his interest in mathematics was so great that, when a professorship of Mathematical Physics became available in University College, he abandoned the idea of a civil servant's career. He took up the professorship in Dublin in 1901.

Newman's foundation of 1852 had been since 1883 in charge of the Jesuit Fathers. The College had no endowment and no source of income save the pooled salaries of the Jesuits who held senior fellowships in the Royal University and the fees of the students. In spite of this handicap the College had, in the course of years, established a very distinct superiority in the examinations of the Royal University over the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway, which were all adequately endowed according to the standards of the time. But examination successes cannot disguise the fact that teaching in the old U.C.D. was carried on under conditions of penury. Apart from the minimum necessary for the medical school, there was no laboratory equipment for the scientific subjects. A small band of devoted men were spending themselves in doing one part of the work of a university, that of imparting knowledge. They had no hope or opportunity of attempting the other part, that of increasing knowledge. It is not therefore, perhaps, surprising that the two world figures that one associates with the old University College are men of letters, Gerard Manley Hopkins and James Joyce. It is true that the Rector of the Catholic University, Monsignor Gerald Molloy, enjoyed a considerable scientific reputation during his day; but his work was wholly the popularization and expounding of the discoveries of others. Casey the mathematician had once a considerable status; but it is to be feared that outside Dublin he is now little remembered.

It was a fortunate coincidence that, just before Conway returned from Oxford, another eminent man had joined the staff of the College. John Alexander McClelland, born at Coleraine in 1870, had been a student in Galway under Anderson. He had gone to the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge about the same time as Rutherford, Wilson and Langevin, and had had a part with them under the leadership of J. J. Thomson in the exciting series of discoveries in the last years of the century in which the subject of atomic physics was being virtually created. McClelland had been a Junior Fellow of the Royal University. Father Delany, then President of University College, had the far-sighted liberality to secure his services for the College. The Senate was persuaded to allow him to use for research work the laboratories of the Royal University, hitherto sacred to the routine of examinations. McClelland, full of enthusiasm for experiment, set to work with great vigour on the problems suggested to him by his Cambridge experience.

There can hardly be any doubt that Conway and McClelland reacted

upon and stimulated each other. The discovery of the electron by J. J. Thomson in 1897 had raised a variety of problems of electrodynamics. We find Conway treating some of these in a series of papers published in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. In a paper published in the Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society he tackles the problem of series in spectra. Planck's adumbration of the quantum theory had appeared in 1900. Einstein's statement of the restricted principle of relativity had appeared in 1905. Conway was fully in touch with the new developments. In fact it might be said that he was prepared in advance for the kind of mathematical treatment required for the new directions in which theoretical physics was moving. He had always had a deep interest in the work of Sir William Rowan Hamilton. I think he considered it in a sense a duty to keep alive an interest in Hamilton's methods and especially in the subject of quaternions. The methods of quaternions have not been used much in recent years except by Conway himself, but they are closely akin to and have much in common with the methods in which latter-day theoretical physics finds its expression.

II

When the new University College came to be set up under the provisions of the Irish Universities Act of 1908, the Dublin Commissioners indicated their estimation of the relative importance of the different chairs by a widely graduated scale of emoluments. Thus it came to pass that while McClelland was appointed to the chair of Experimental Physics, which with one other chair occupied the highest grade, Conway was appointed to the chair of Mathematical Physics at a considerably lower stipend. It is easy to see how the Dublin Commissioners arrived at some of their valuations; but their motives in this case are obscure. It must not be thought that Conway at this stage could properly be considered a young man of promise only, but of uncertain fulfilment. Sir Edmund Whittaker, who was at the time Royal Astronomer of Ireland and who has never been fond of extravagant language, says in recommending him for the chair: "Professor Conway's researches have made his name honoured in every Academy in Europe". There was a widespread feeling that neither Conway personally nor the subject of Mathematical Physics had been accorded proper recognition. As a result, when the Governing Body of the College came to fill the office of Registrar, which must be held by a professor or lecturer, it was decided to appoint Conway, the salary of £100 per annum at that time attached to the post being regarded as some measure of compensation. In this curious way Conway came to assume the duties of one of the executive officers of the College and found himself in a position which he was to occupy for thirty years.

In the statutes of the College there is a chapter dealing with the duties of the Registrar. Anyone reading that chapter might well be surprised

that these duties could be combined with the work of a busy department like that of Mathematical Physics and with original work of any kind. The explanation is easy to anyone acquainted with the personality of Dr. Coffey, the first President. It must be remembered that the College was relatively small at the beginning. In the first session, 1909-10, the number of students on the rolls was 530. Some years later, when buildings were being planned, a figure of 700-800 was adopted as being probably normal for the future. With numbers of that size and a not very large staff, it was possible for Dr. Coffey to know everyone, arrange everything, foresee everything, keep everything under his own hand and carry everything in his own head. It was well for the new college that its first President was a man with such delight in detail, such passion for contrivance, and yet a man of broad and humane spirit and an expert in human nature. The passage from the old University College to the new, from the Royal University to the National was accomplished with smoothness. A few squibs flew about but the new President stifled them or ignored them.

With the President supervising and arranging every detail of the work of the new college, it will be realised that the duties of the other officers were likely to be lightened by the zeal of the President. Of course differentiation of function had to come. The first Secretary of the College, John W. Bacon, a man of strong personality, got a secure grip on the business and financial side of the organisation. Conway also, as secretary of the Academic Council, was fully in touch with all academic matters. But there is a wide range of functions now attended to through the Registrar's office, involving students and their courses, which in the early years at least received the personal attention of the President. It cannot be said, I think, that Conway resented—except in extreme cases—what might be regarded as an invasion of his functions. Like everyone else he was fond of the President and he regarded with amused magnanimity his ceaseless activities on behalf of his students and his college.

It used to be said at one time by Conway himself that his personal office consisted of a little black box in which he kept important papers. It is probable that he was content to have it so and to devote his mind chiefly to the duties of his chair and to the developments in progress in these years in which the whole scheme of Newtonian physics was being set aside and a new structure being built to replace it.

McClelland had been elected to the Royal Society in 1908. It had been expected that Conway's election would follow almost immediately, but it was in fact delayed until 1915. It was said at the time that the delay was due to the offence given in certain quarters by the line which Conway took about the filling of a mathematical chair which became vacant in the first years of the National University. Appointments to the chairs in the Queen's Colleges had been made by the Crown. It had been common, over a long period of years, for young men of high promise from Oxford

or Cambridge to secure these appointments. If the promise was genuine, the tenure of the chair lasted usually only one or two years. It was merely a stage on the way to some post of higher esteem. When a man otherwise unplaceable secured a lodgment, he was usually there for life. I believe that, while the Queen's Colleges lasted, only one man of real distinction, appointed in this way, retained his chair for any considerable period. George Boole, author of the "Laws of Thought", was professor of Mathematics in Cork from 1849 till his death in 1864. He is known as the originator of the algebra of logic.

For the vacancy now in question, the choice proved to be between two candidates: one a young Englishman who has since become a very eminent mathematician and the other a young Irishman, who was actually appointed and has in fact filled the chair with great credit. Conway decided to support the Irishman and few will doubt now that he was right. Without going into all the considerations that are of moment in the matter, it might equally be held now that the policy initiated in this appointment has been pursued too long and too consistently. Injections of new blood would probably have been desirable. Discussion of the matter is now otiose; for, since our separation from the British system, public appreciation of the value of university studies has so deteriorated in what is now the Republic of Ireland that no potential Newton or Faraday is likely to be tempted from across the Channel by the emoluments attached to any University chair.

III

The College which opened its doors in Autumn 1909 was staffed for the most part by men who felt that they had escaped from the rigours of the old Royal University and were eager to pursue their work under conditions of academic freedom. But difficulties were not slow in arriving. The College had been given a very meagre income and for its seat the buildings of the Royal University, partly in ruins, together with a grotesquely inadequate building grant. Even the old University buildings did not become fully available to the College until the National University acquired the houses it now occupies in Merrion Square. When building on a modest scale was planned and under way, the outbreak of the European war put up costs to such an extent that only part of the original design could be completed, and even that saddled the College with a debt which it was to carry for many a year. The war created problems of another sort, as did in a heightened degree the insurrection of Easter Week, 1916, the Black and Tan terror and the Civil war. College personalities were involved in all these events. But if gaps occurred among the staff or students by death or imprisonment or by the call of outside duties, the work of the College went steadily on and the number of students continued to grow.

An interlude in which Conway figures in a manner apparently quite out of character deserves some mention. In the elections to Dáil Eireann of June 1922, the National University of Ireland had a right to return four members. Conway appeared as one of six candidates. If he had any very definite political views at the time, they were probably those of the old Redmondite party which had been driven off the scene in the election of 1918. But it is probable that he did not seek election with any political motive or on any political platform. The voters of the National University returned Professor Eoin Mac Neill at the head of the poll, followed by Mr. Michael Hayes, Professor William F. P. Stockley and Professor William Magennis. It was clear that the graduates of the University were solidly in favour of the new *régime*. Conway had no real interest in politics. He was on friendly terms with Mr. W. T. Cosgrave and equally with the present President, Mr. Seán T. O'Kelly. He was a life-long friend of Mr. de Valera, who had been his pupil and who continued to have for him something of the special regard of a disciple.

Conway's brief appearance in a political setting was quickly forgotten inside the College. There is some reason for thinking that it may not have been as readily forgotten outside it.

Part of the statutory duties of the Registrar relates to the " maintenance of discipline and good conduct in the students ". Of course the President has an over-riding duty in this as in all matters. The first President was a man who found it difficult to see any student in the rôle of transgressor. When indiscipline could not be ignored, he bestowed a soothing and by no means cursory allocution on all concerned. Punishments were so rare that over a period of many years it would be difficult to find more than one or two instances. In these circumstances the Registrar's functions as a disciplinarian were likely to be but a shadow of those contemplated by the statute. But Conway found it necessary occasionally to intervene and did so with tact and good humour. The tradition of disorder at conferrings of degrees, carried over from the old Royal University and now happily forgotten, sometimes called for his intervention. Then, during the period of war and revolution, the excitements of the outer world sometimes penetrated into the College. One of the recollections of that time is of the Registrar sallying forth into Earlsfort Terrace in order to detach students from a political riot which was going on at the corner of Stephen's Green.

Political excitement of the graver kind died down ; but as the College continued to grow, its financial difficulties and its housing problem were annually becoming more serious. Some alleviation was provided in 1926 when the Cosgrave government handed over to the College the College of Science buildings in Merrion Street and the Albert Farm at Glasnevin. The College thus gained a fairly well equipped engineering department, mechanical and electrical, and was able in addition to transfer to the Merrion

Street building most of the science departments. The space released at Earlsfort Terrace gave much-needed elbow-room to some of the medical departments. There was one interesting effect of this transfer. There was a well equipped Registrar's Office at Merrion Street, and this Conway took over *jure succesionis*. There I think it can be said with truth, he had for the first time a really private office and a safe place of retreat. It was there that a great deal of mathematical work was done. The labour of editing the two large volumes of Hamilton's works, soon to be mentioned, was carried out in this room.

IV

It has been stated already that Conway found himself specially well equipped to deal with the new developments in theoretical physics. He had followed the growth of the theory of relativity from its beginnings. In 1913 he gave a course of lectures on relativity at the University of Edinburgh. The material of these lectures was later published in book form. He published papers on Bohr's theory and on the modern quantum theory. He became a familiar and genial figure at mathematical congresses at various centres in Europe and America. He was the world authority on quaternions and frequently went to pains to show how they could be used in relativity and quantum theory.

It was at a mathematical congress in Toronto in 1924 that he met J. L. Synge and proposed to him the publication of the mathematical works of Sir William Rowan Hamilton, who was Royal Astronomer of Ireland in the middle third of the last century. As a result of the collaboration of Conway and Synge the first volume of these works was published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1931. It is an imposing quarto of 534 pages, one quarter being from MSS. material preserved in Trinity College Dublin and hitherto unpublished. The second volume, which Conway edited with the assistance of A. J. McConnell, was published in 1940. This is a quarto of 656 pages, the greater part being material appearing in print for the first time. The first volume deals mainly with geometrical optics and the second with dynamics. The publication of these volumes was received with world-wide interest. This, as Conway has stressed, is for the reason that, although Hamilton had little knowledge of the experimental science even of his own day, the methods and symbolism which he devised are omnipresent in the theories which the discoveries of a hundred years later have called into being.

Conway's scientific work obtained wide recognition. As far back as 1908 he had received the Honorary Degree of D.Sc., from the Royal University of Ireland. In 1938 he received the Honorary Degree of Sc.D., from the University of Dublin and in the same year the Honorary LL.D., of St. Andrews. At the beginning of 1939 he was informed that he had received the signal honour of election to the Papal Academy of Sciences.

This body of seventy scholars represents the *élite* of the scientific world. Conway was appointed to the chair rendered vacant by the death of Lord Rutherford. He had been elected to the Council of the Royal Society in 1935. He was President of the Royal Irish Academy from 1937 to 1940. Later he took the chief part in organizing the Academy's Centenary Celebration of the discovery of quaternions and contributed to the volume of mathematical papers in honour of Hamilton which the Academy published in 1945. From 1942 to 1945 he was President of the Royal Dublin Society. Soon after his appointment as President of University College in 1940 he was elected to an Honorary Fellowship by his old College in Oxford, Corpus Christi.

During the year 1939 Conway was consulted by Mr. de Valera about the proposal to set up in Dublin an Institute for Advanced Studies. I think it could be said that he was Mr. de Valera's chief adviser in all the details of the establishment of that part of the Institute which was to deal with Mathematical Physics. When the Institute was founded in 1940, he was nominated by the Government Chairman of the Board of the School of Theoretical Physics. He took an active part in the work of this school for the rest of his life and was never happier than when discussing the mathematical background of the newer physics with Schrödinger or Heitler or with such visitors as Eddington and Dirac.

When the College had to find a new President in 1940, there was hardly one among his colleagues who did not rejoice that in him they had a scholar of world-wide repute whom they could be glad to acclaim as leader.

V

When Conway entered on the presidency in April 1940 he assumed the direction of a college with about 2,400 students occupying the same buildings and with the same income (apart from fees) as in 1926, when the student population was about 1,200. In the settlement of 1926 it had been agreed with the Government of the day that the financial position of the College would be reviewed after an interval of five years. This review had never taken place. It would appear that it had not been asked for on behalf of the College. As a result the College was in serious financial difficulties. During practically the whole of his period of office the President found himself, either on his own initiative or by direction of the Governing Body, in the position of a petitioner for state assistance. Meanwhile costs were rising owing to the war, and demands for wage increases could not be resisted. The number of students continued to grow, the figure at his retirement being about 3,200, an increase of 33 per cent. in a space of seven years. The total state assistance received may be stated briefly: a lump sum payment in 1944 to extinguish debt and a 50 per cent. increase in the annual grant in 1947, conditional on an increase of students' fees by the same proportion.

Certain alleviations of the position of the College must be mentioned. As a result of the expenditure of a considerable sum of money, most of which had been subtly acquired from the National University of Ireland, the old buildings in Stephen's Green had been completely renovated. Professor R. M. Butler, aided by his daughters Miss Eleanor Butler and Miss Honor Butler, had restored Nos. 85 and 86 to something of their eighteenth-century elegance and had provided in the basement of 86 a students' restaurant. The old Aula Maxima had been extended and made suitable for dancing and dramatic performances. The buildings were just about ready for occupation at the beginning of 1941. Although funds were lacking for proper furnishing, these reconstructed buildings meant an enormous gain—especially in amenities for students. Then in the autumn of 1940 Mr. de Valera made an offer to the College of the use of the greater part of the Iveagh gardens. Iveagh House and gardens had been conveyed by Lord Iveagh to the Irish Government some little time before. Early in 1941, therefore, the College had the advantage not only of an interior connection between Earlsfort Terrace and Stephen's Green but of the enjoyment of a park of some eight acres.

The acquisition of a restaurant and other accommodation for students raised the question of control. Dr. Coffey's rule had been a highly personal one. The new President, on the other hand, believed in delegation of authority. Thus in student matters he left the decision of a number of things of much interest to students in the hands of the Students' Representative Council. The restaurant was to be controlled by a committee on which students and staff were represented.

In the larger matters of the College his policy was the same. The officers of the College were allowed to function with a considerable degree of independence within their proper spheres. The faculties were allowed to develop and were encouraged to handle and clarify matters that properly concerned them for presentation to the Academic Council. This of course meant an extra responsibility for the Deans of the Faculties, who were no longer merely the clerks of bodies of which they were in a sense the titular heads. A good deal of the internal machinery of administration of the College was overhauled. While discipline was tightened up, it was never necessary that it should be other than mild and lenient. Conway was a man of the most open and friendly manner. He had none of the self-absorption of the professional student. His relations with colleagues and students were easy and pleasant.

Throughout the term of his presidency, however, Conway was confronted with a permanent opposition on the Governing Body of the College. The opposition was conducted by no means *suaviter in modo*. Conway bore the attacks with great phlegm and seldom showed any sign of being ruffled even under severe pressure. The academic element on the Governing Body, with a few exceptions, consistently supported the President. It is difficult to account for the motives or character of

this opposition. It may not be altogether fanciful to suggest that there were in the background some memories of the Dáil election of 1922. That the polemic was founded on some point of what must be called principle is pretty clear, for no one could fail to recognise the personal distinction of the President and his good humour and freedom from malice.

Apart from the periodic guerilla of the Governing Body meetings, the seven years of Conway's presidency were years of calm and harmonious development. Within the limits imposed by finance and the over-crowded condition of the College, he provided amenities hitherto lacking for staff and students. He was always accessible and despatched business with promptitude. When he retired in October 1947, he left the College running smoothly, better organised and stronger than he found it.

VI

After his retirement Conway continued to lead an active life. He was a constant attendant at the seminars and lectures of the School of Theoretical Physics and was a frequent contributor to mathematical discussions at meetings of the Royal Irish Academy. Owing to the war, he had hitherto been unable to present himself for formal admission to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences. In February 1948 he went to Rome and had the honour of a private audience with Pope Pius XII. He attended a session of the Pontifical Academy and made two communications. The first was a note on " Applications of Quaternions to Modern Scientific Theories ", the second a longer paper on " Quaternions and Quantum Mechanics ". They were published in *Pontificia Academia Scientiarum Acta*, Vol. XII, N.3, p. 9 and N. 23, p. 259.

In October 1949 he was guest lecturer at the International Mathematicians' Congress at Vancouver. On this occasion he made a tour of the United States and Canada with the object of finding a young scientist to fill a vacancy in the School of Theoretical Physics. He was not successful, as it appeared that all the young men of promise had been enrolled in atomic energy projects.

Conway enjoyed these tours as I think it can be said that, in a simple and unostentatious way, he enjoyed life generally. He was happy in his family life. He had been an oarsman in Oxford and was one of the earliest motorists in Dublin. He was a swimmer and a golfer to the end of his days. Apart from mathematics he was a man of wide reading and culture. Like most mathematicians he had a keen appreciation of music. His mathematical powers showed no sign of diminution with age. Only a few weeks ago he was suggesting mathematical short-cuts and elucidations to the pundits of the Institute who were labouring with the most recent development of quantum electro-dynamics. Early in July he was getting ready to set out for a Mathematical Congress at Harvard when, with no very lengthy notice, he was summoned to make a greater journey. *Requiescat in pace.*

JOHN J. NOLAN

IRELAND AND FRANCE AT LUXEUIL

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.
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ON the afternoon of Friday, July 21st, a small group of pilgrims—some of them Irish, some of them French—stood on the little mound which marks the site of the old monastic church of Annegray, the first monastic community founded by St. Columbanus in Merovingian Gaul. Beside us was a cross which has been erected within the last few years to commemorate the saint's first foundation. The site itself was acquired some years ago by V. Rev. Canon Thiébaut, for many years parish priest and dean of Luxeuil. Canon Thiébaut was with us that day: he had planned the welcome which Annegray was giving us that afternoon. An Irish flag was flying beside the cross and we could see in the distance, high up on a hill above the valley, another Irish flag which marked the site of the grotto whither Columbanus was wont to withdraw for solitary penance and prayer. The *maire* of the village was there to welcome us; and Canon Thiébaut also spoke: "For many years I have hoped to see Ireland at Luxeuil and Annegray: to-day we stand here together, beneath the cross and beside the Irish flag; gentlemen, you have made me younger by twenty years." He then invited us to join with the villagers in singing the Nicene Creed which, like the cross, is still the symbol of our faith as it was fourteen hundred years ago.

I

There was a good deal of that ardent generous spirit in all the celebrations which took place at Luxeuil from July 20th to 23rd of this summer. If Canon Thiébaut was the veteran who had worked and prayed for this success through many years, the moving spirit and most genial host in all our gatherings was His Excellency Mgr. Dubourg, Archbishop of Besançon. He it was who had issued the invitations which had brought us all to Luxeuil. He it was also who initiated the petition which, as we all hope, may yet lead to the addition of the feast of St. Columbanus to the universal calendar of the Church. From the first opening ceremony in the fine thirteenth-century Basilica, when he preached a moving panegyric of the Irish saint whom we had gathered to honour at Luxeuil, to the solemn Pontifical Mass on Sunday morning, when he presided at the Mass which was sung by His Excellency the Papal Nuncio at Paris, the Archbishop of Besançon was present with kindly word and deed. He lost no opportunity of making us feel how warm and sincere was the welcome which he and the priests and people of Luxeuil were offering to the visitors who had come from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Austria as well as from the saint's own island home. It was no small gain for the success

of the congress that Mgr. Dubourg should be known throughout France as an eloquent and accomplished orator, one who was never at a loss for the right word and gesture on all the many occasions, great and small, of our celebrations.

Another scene which took place on Sunday morning before the Pontifical Mass will be remembered by all who were privileged to be present. Saint Gall was the chosen disciple of Columbanus, and the two saints lived together at Luxeuil for some twenty years. To-day Saint-Gall in Switzerland is as proud of its Irish apostle as Luxeuil is of Columbanus. His Excellency Mgr. Meile, Bishop of Saint-Gall, was one of the principal guests at the congress—and he did not come empty-handed. They have always venerated a relic of Saint Gall in the cathedral church dedicated to his name ; but in modern times the church has received by gift a second relic from the arm of the saint. Bishop Meile felt that Luxeuil, which had been for some twenty years the scene of Gall's early apostolate, should share in this privilege. He came to Luxeuil, bringing with him both relics, and let it be known that he proposed to leave the relic of the saint's arm at Luxeuil as a memorial of these celebrations. The Archbishop of Besançon, accompanied by all the many prelates and clergy who had gathered for the ceremonies of this last day, came in procession through the streets of the town and met the Bishop of Saint-Gall at an appointed place. Here the gracious gift was offered and received before a large crowd of the Catholic people of Luxeuil and many Irish pilgrims. We then moved back to the Basilica, whilst the excellent brass band of Saint-Gall played Swiss airs at the head of the procession. A French Dominican from the University of Fribourg, who ranks among the best of the many excellent French medievalists, was walking ahead of me. I envied him the military precision of his step, and could not help feeling that some of us in Ireland would be the better for the military training which they are given in France. Be that as it may, we do our best to march faithfully in the *militia Christi*—and the band of Saint-Gall were very much the heroes of that day.

Ireland was well represented in these final ceremonies. An Taoiseach, Mr. MacBride and Mr. de Valera were there as representatives of the Republic of Ireland, with our new Irish ambassador at Paris. His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin walked in that procession, with the Bishops of Limerick and Meath, the two Abbots of Mount Melleray and Roscrea, and the Dean of Cork. Mgr. Kissane was there to represent Maynooth, with no less than five professors from the staff of the College. The Maynooth Mission to China was represented by the Superior General of the Congregation, with Father Patrick O'Connor of N.C.W.C. and Father James Wilson. The Sisters of St. Columbanus were represented by Mother Patrick, who had acted as organising secretary for the congress in Ireland. Indeed the newspapers were reminding us during each day of the congress

that the Missionary Fathers and Sisters of St. Columbanus have to-day a better right than any other group of Irishmen to represent one who was from first to last a fighting saint. In Korea the missionary priests were facing great danger on both sides of the firing line, and each day during the congress the news got worse. In China the Fathers and Sisters are maintaining their communities under difficulties that we at home can hardly visualise. Mgr. Pfister, who spoke to us on Saturday afternoon of the work which he himself had been doing in Rome for the promotion of the petition concerning the feast of St. Columbanus, was very definite that none of the recent petitions from all parts of the world would carry greater weight in Rome than those which had come in the past few weeks from so many Bishops of Chinese dioceses, under the inspiring leadership of Bishop Galvin and Bishop Cleary. Here, indeed, are voices that speak with the authentic accent of a saint who faced danger in Merovingian Gaul fourteen centuries ago.

II

Two of the four days of the congress were set apart for sessions at which scholars from many countries read papers on one or other aspect of the saint's work. I think we all came home with a new feeling of respect for the work of a saint whose influence was attested by so many witnesses from the countries of Western Europe. Many of these papers were no more than a reminder that St. Columbanus or one of his immediate disciples had worked in this or that province of France, this or that canton of Switzerland. But some of them went very much deeper in their analysis of the nature of the saint's work and the lasting results of his apostolate. This *Congrès d'Etudes* was fortunate in having for its president M. Gabriel Le Bras, who is a professor in the Faculty of Law at the Sorbonne and President of the *Section des sciences religieuses* at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* of the same great University. In this latter position he is, by unanimous vote of all his colleagues, the successor of two famous predecessors : Ernest Renan and Alfred Loisy. Since M. Le Bras is himself well known to be a Breton and a fervent Catholic, the president and principal organiser of a Society for the History of the Church in France, the fact of his unanimous election is one among many signs of the forward movement which has given Catholic scholars new confidence and new authority in French intellectual circles. All of us who were present at the sessions in Luxeuil will agree that M. Le Bras is a brilliant talker as well as an exceedingly competent scholar. His special interests lie in the history of Canon Law, and he wrote a famous introductory section to the two volumes on the history of Canon Law prior to the twelfth century which (some twenty years ago) called attention to the significance of the clash between Roman and Celtic traditions in Merovingian and Carolingian

Gaul. No scholar could have been better qualified to preside over the sessions at Luxeuil. Sitting beside him was Mademoiselle Marguerite-Marie Dubois, a Lecturer at the Sorbonne, who has recently published an admirable account of the saint's life and work in French, and who spared no pains for months before the congress and during all its sessions to organise a joint tribute to Columbanus from so many scholars—French and Swiss and Italian as well as Irish. The programme of papers was in fact overcrowded; but Frenchmen are seldom at a loss to improvise the solution of a practical difficulty, and we completed the programme triumphantly by the end of a somewhat lengthy session on Saturday afternoon.

Thanks to a grant which has been promised by the present French government, the committee of " Les Amis de Saint Colomban " hope to publish the full text of all these papers in the near future. Some five or six papers were read by Irishmen. Of these the most impressive was a paper by Dr. Gerard Mitchell on " The Penitential of Saint Columbanus and its importance in the history of Penance". Approaching his subject from the angle of a theologian rather than that of a student of history, Dr. Mitchell made it clear that the Irish tradition of individual direction of souls had done more than any other force to develop the practice of the Sacrament of Penance as we know it to-day. That alone is an achievement of great significance for Christian life in Europe; and students of mediæval canon law and moral theology know how important for their subject is the influence and wide diffusion of Irish penitentials and of other penitentials which show plain evidence of Irish influence. An Italian scholar, Dr. Bergamaschi, dealt with the same subject as a student of medieval law; but his paper was read in Italian, and we must wait for the printed text before most of us can appreciate the nature of his commentary. On Friday evening M. Le Bras delivered a public oration on the saint's life and work to a large open-air audience in the cloisters of the seminary—which stands to-day where the first monastery of Luxeuil once stood. He also stressed the importance of this contribution to Christian life, and contrasted Irish methods with the more legalistic methods of public penance which had prevailed before the sixth century.

A paper on the Rule of St. Columbanus, read by M. Gaudemet, who is professor in the Faculty of Law of Strasbourg, was—so many of us thought—too legalistic in its approach to the problem. Father John Ryan, who had opened the congress with a paper on the state of the Church at the end of the sixth century, spoke again in the final session on this topic. He stressed the importance of interpreting the Rule of St. Columbanus in the light of other early Irish rules which have come down to us, in more or less fragmentary form, but which reveal a tradition of rule-making unlike the Roman tradition familar to us all in the Rule of St. Benedict. Here, as in the Irish penitentials, the emphasis is throughout on the needs of the individual soul, the aim being the direction of each soul to a high

degree of sanctity rather than a rule of life which can be easily observed by large numbers. The present writer tried to bring out the same point in a paper on the Irish monastery of Bangor ; whilst Father Wilson read a paper on the credibility of Jonas as a witness to the saint's life at Luxeuil and Bobbio. Dr. Bieler contributed a careful study of the literary and cultural background revealed in the saint's Latin writings. How indeed are we to account for the excellence of his Latinity as contrasted with the style and grammar of Gregory of Tours, unless we admit a tradition of sound learning and teaching in the Irish monastic schools of the sixth century ? Father O'Connor read a short paper on the cult of St. Columbanus in China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and other lands where the Missionary Fathers of St. Columbanus have preached the Gospel in modern times. Senator Mrs. Concannon paid a tribute to the Daughters of St. Columbanus in a paper which could only be read in title at the end of the last session ; and Father E. J. MacCarthy, one of the veterans of the Maynooth Mission who is now in California, contributed a paper (which was also read in title) on " A Portrait of Saint Columbanus".

Among the many papers read by French scholars two or three deserve special mention. Dom P. Salmon, now Abbot of St. Jerome's at Rome and President of the Vulgate Commission, read an admirable paper on the Lectionary of Luxeuil : a famous liturgical manuscript, now in the National Library of Paris, which (so he argued in his recent fine edition of the text) is most probably the work of a scribe from Langres, though the liturgical observances show traces of Irish influence. Another Benedictine scholar, Dom J. Laporte of Saint-Wandrille, read a paper on the sources of the saint's life which raised many challenging and controversial questions. He questioned the authenticity of the Rule in its present form and the authenticity of several of the letters and sermons. Canon Lestocquoy, who has made a name for himself in the past ten or fifteen years as a critic of Pirenne's famous theory on the origin of town-life in Western Europe, read a most valuable and thought-provoking paper on the part played by the Merovingian monasteries (including the foundations made by St. Columbanus and his disciples) in the development of town life in Gaul and in the lands that were known later as Alsace and Lorraine. A synthesis of the various papers read on the less known Columbanian monasteries would need to be accompanied by a map drawn specially for the purpose. It was plain from what we heard at Luxeuil that the saint's direct influence on French monastic life was very much more considerable in extent and permanent in result than we had known. One zealous parish priest from Brittany was able to circulate a leaflet with a picture of a statue of the saint which he himself had erected in his parish of Kernével in Finisterre. More than one Swiss visitor to the congress invited the Irish delegates to visit shrines which are visible proof of the saint's lasting influence on Europe's most hospitable republic.

The treatment of one central subject was disappointing to many of us. A paper read on the saint's relations with the Holy See, as revealed in his letters, did little more than tell a familiar story without any adequate background to these surprising controversies. Here is surely a subject on which some Irish scholar may yet throw light by a careful study of the circumstances in which each letter was written. History is often most helpful when a difficult subject is boldly tackled and adequately studied.

Another difficult problem which was discussed in more than one of the papers was the question of the saint's attitude to episcopal authority. It is plain from the *Vita* and other sources that Columbanus sought the permission of the local king or lord when he had chosen a suitable site for some new foundation. The canon law of Merovingian Gaul forbade any new foundation that had not been approved by episcopal authority. Saint Columbanus ignored or defied these recent canons, and had no hesitation in resisting what he held to be undue interference with his monastic freedom. The problem is very real, and the saint's independent attitude towards the Holy See does not make the problem more easy. Yet M. Le Bras was surely right when he insisted, in his public oration, that this deliberate policy of seeking freedom from local episcopal jurisdiction is a foreshadowing of the later system by which the great monastic orders were exempted from episcopal authority, but made directly subject to the authority of the Holy See.

III

It is tempting to prolong this brief summary of the principal topics expounded or discussed at this most stimulating congress. But enough has been said to make it plain that these papers were something more than a formal gesture of recognition towards the work of a saint who died more than thirteen hundred years ago. (Incidentally we may note that the date chosen for these celebrations rests on a very doubtful theory as to the saint's age when he left Bangor for Gaul). I have said nothing of the two performances of *Le Mystère de Saint Colomban*—a modern mystery play in French verse written by Paule de Gimazane, who is in fact Mademoiselle Dubois using this *nom-de-plume* for extra-academic (but none the less excellent) work. M. Jean Valcourt came to Luxeuil from the Comédie Française to act the principal part in this *Mystère*. It was to be an open-air performance in the courtyard of the medieval cloisters near the Basilica. At first, as we took our seats in the courtyard looking towards the floodlit cloisters, we thought that no more suitable background could have been found for the various scenes of the saint's life. But a thunderstorm of exceptional violence sent us all scuttling for shelter to the Gothic cloisters, and it seemed for some minutes that the saint had given us a very clear mark of his personal disapproval. But we had not reckoned with the

spontaneous generosity of Mgr. Dubourg. When it became plain that the storm was going to end all hope of an open-air performance, he ordered the door of the Basilica to be opened and the Blessed Sacrament to be removed from the high altar. Then, with astonishingly little delay, the mystery-play was resumed in the sanctuary, with the great statue of Saint Columbanus looking down on us all from above the high altar. As the Archbishop said in a few brief words of explanation: "You may have thought that Columbanus was turning you away, but he was waiting for you here." And the long final scene of the drama, with the dying speech of the saint to his disciples at Bobbio, was played to its finish on the steps of the high altar at a late hour. M. Valcourt and his fellow-actors did full justice to a fine part in unusual surroundings.

Our last ceremonies were of a more public and political character. On Sunday, after the Pontifical Mass in the Basilica, the Mayor of Luxeuil, M. Maroselli, who is also Minister of Air in the present French government, welcomed us to his constituency in the Hôtel de Ville. We then moved into the principal hall of the Seminary for an official banquet, at which An Taoiseach spoke to the guests in the name of the Irish Republic, and His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin expressed the gratitude of the Irish pilgrims for the hospitality that had been shown to us all during these days at Luxeuil. Commenting on the difference between the situation of Catholics in Ireland and in France, he pointed to the existence of our Catholic schools as the chief source of strength in this country. The Archbishop of Besançon thanked His Grace for all that he had done to ensure the success of the congress, and announced that His Grace had consented to accept nomination as an Honorary Canon of the Chapter of Besançon.

When these last courtesies had been fulfilled we passed to the central square of the town, where a new statue of the saint had been erected. A first ceremony of inauguration (to use the French term) had been performed three years ago; but it was planned to hold a second, an international inauguration on this more solemn occasion. M. Schuman had come from Paris for the ceremonies of this last day. Seven speakers, each representing one of the nations that had supported the scheme for Western European Union, spoke in turn from the platform. The Mayor of Bobbio was the first of these speakers; the Apostolic Nuncio from Paris was the last. Mr. MacBride spoke in the name of the Republic of Ireland; and by common consent he spoke admirably and to the point. "Take Christianity from Western Europe," he said, "and what is left?" He was followed by the personal representative of Mr. Davis Bruce, the American Ambassador in Paris, who spoke in similar vein. All were eager to hear what M. Schuman would say, and they were not disappointed. Very quietly and earnestly he spoke of the centuries that separate us from the time of Saint Columbanus. What right have we to speak of the barbarians of

those days when we reflect on the immense wrongs that have been inflicted on the peoples of Europe to-day? He spoke of the refugees and the displaced persons, of the miseries caused by war, and said once more that the plan which he and his fellow-ministers had proposed was designed primarily as a means of checking war in the future. His last words were an appeal for peace and unity in defence of the traditions and civilisation which we have inherited from so many Christian generations. He was followed by the Apostolic Nuncio, who spoke as a kindly father to his people. One of the many points he made has lingered in my memory. The Holy Father who ruled the Church during part of the lifetime of Saint Columbanus was one of the greatest of the Popes, Saint Gregory the Great. Many of the homilies which we still read in the breviary remind us of the pessimism, almost despair which filled Gregory's heart as he looked out on the world of his day and saw around him so many ruins, so many presages of final disaster. The end of the world seemed to be near at hand—yet, so the Nuncio reminded us, fourteen centuries have gone by and the end of the world has not yet come. Even a great Pope like Saint Gregory could err by undue pessimism. Let us be optimistic to-day, putting our trust in God our Father.

With those kindly words to reassure us, we went away to make ready for the long journey home. Our pilgrimage had not been in vain, for each of us went home with a new sense of the unity which binds Christian Europe in a common faith, a common love.

AUBREY GWYNN

REFLECTIONS ON EUROPEAN UNITY

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

DURING the past eighteen months there has been continuous talk on the theme of European unity. Should there not be, indeed must there not be, a far closer association between the peoples of Western Europe in view of the ruthless challenge from the East? Ought this association go so far even as actual union? Has the time yet come for the United or Federated States of Europe, at the least of Southern and Western Europe, of which idealists have frequently dreamed?

I

Since the close of the war in 1945 we have grown familiar with American financial aid to Europe and with American exhortations to European countries that they should have closer commercial relations with one another and even dovetail their national economies. These countries now understand how interdependent are their various economies and see that the only way towards rehabilitation and prosperity lies through genuine mutual co-operation.

In the political field, twelve countries are allied in an Atlantic Pact for the defence of the area in which they have common interests. A permanent committee representing all twelve countries is to remain in session in London as a centre of liaison and coordination. There exist already a European Assembly at Strasbourg and a joint military headquarters in Fontainebleau.

The movement towards a narrower association of Western European peoples was recently given a significant impetus by the proposal, known as the Schuman Plan, to coordinate the coal and steel industries of Western Europe and to place these under the direction of an international and indeed a supra-national body. This was indeed a bold step, and it captured the European imagination. Six Continental governments at once agreed to study the proposal and to join in establishing this control system. Western Germany accepted the hand that France extended towards her in this revolutionary proposal. Could the coal and steel resources of these two lands be pooled and administered jointly, the old tensions might soon be eased, the ancient enmities converted into alliance, the historic bitterness subside. Of all the projects put forward for this closer integration of Europe the Schuman Plan was the most imaginative and far-reaching.

The British government gave at first a general approval to the idea. It was too general to mean much and subsequent events, for instance the issue of a Labour Party document on foreign policy, have robbed it of the little actuality it may have had. The Labour government at West-

minster is badly placed for playing any leading rôle in these new European developments. It would welcome European unity, provided it be a Socialist unity—unaware, it would seem, of the rapid decline of Socialism on the Continent and unsympathetic to the social and political forces that are working to-day for the closer build up of Western European countries. A party that is born of Methodism and Marxism does not find it easy to appreciate the strongly Christian influences which are so much in evidence to-day upon the Continent.

These various attempts to draw the Western European lands into a more tightly knit framework for purposes both of economics and of defence are not the direct outcome of the second World War. They have resulted rather from the breakdown of the United Nations' Organization, which was the heritage of the second war as the League of Nations was the legacy of the first. Even more tragically than the first League has the second Organization come to grief. The League failed largely because it was not sufficiently inclusive ; the United States remained obstinately outside, while other countries like Germany, Italy and Japan gave but a partial or a temporary adherence. The United Nations' Organization on the other hand, has failed—at least up to the present—because it has been too inclusive and has attempted to include all nations, regardless of their outlook upon international questions. It contains Soviet Russia and the satellite States at present under Russian domination, and these are not interested in international co-operation except in their own spirit and for the spread of their power and propaganda. The presence of Soviet Russia within U.N.O. coupled with the power of veto which Russia enjoys means that Russia is effectively blocking the purpose and policy of the Organization. To-day U.N.O. is being used to delay and stifle international collaboration. It is impossible for countries which seek closer co-operation to attain to it through the framework of U.N.O. owing to the existence within U.N.O. of the Soviet group of Powers which resists and, when it can, sabotages such co-operation. From this it follows logically—and one day the consequence in logic will have to be drawn in political fact—that the United Nations' Organization must be re-*organized* radically or abandoned altogether. It has so weakened itself by the admission of member States hostile to its main purposes and through its veto system that only a major operation of political surgery can bring a remedy.

Consequently, the Powers outside the Soviet group are turning more and more to the older methods of direct contact and mutual arrangements. Though the Charter of U.N.O. leaves room for regional pacts and alliances, its attitude towards them was one of tolerance rather than approval. But, owing to the failure—are we to add the impossibility ?—of agreement between the Western Powers and the Russian group, regional groups are emerging, some of them christened with barbaric names like

" Fritabel ", " Fritalux " or " Benelux ", others under the title of some pact such as that of North Atlantic defence. The countries in question are approximating towards one another outside rather than through the United Nations' Organization.

II

The reasons for this approximation are various. In the first place, they are *economic*. Most, if not all Western European countries, even those which have revived vigorously since 1945, stand in need of assistance from the New World. North American aid to these countries has been as necessary as it has been generous, and rarely indeed in history has the epithet " generous " been so deserved as in this case of Marshall aid. But General Marshall and other Americans have quite properly insisted that assistance from the United States involves on the European side two conditions : *self-aid* and *mutual-aid*. In other words, these European recipients of American help must collaborate with their helpers by putting their internal economies into proper order and by linking them with the economies of other nations. If they help themselves and one another, then future prospects begin to brighten. Yet, these results can be achieved only by closer co-operation than has been possible in the past. Whether Western Europe is ultimately to be regarded as one large economic unit that can counterbalance the United States, on the one hand, and Soviet Russia, on the other, may be matter for dispute. What is immediately clear is that a large measure of practical co-operation in commerce and joint direction of industrial effort is both desirable and indeed imperative.

This need for economic collaboration is widely recognized. Indeed, it is so recognized that too many people envisage the problem of European co-operation as fundamentally an *economic* one. Economic it is ; but, if it be treated purely or primarily in this light, the deeper meanings of the problem may be missed. It is frequently argued in Britain, for example, that if you could restore prosperity to the countries of Western Europe, you would have defeated Communism, because Communism thrives on miserable conditions. Without doubt, Communism exploits difficult circumstances as it fishes in every kind of troubled water. But Communism is more than an economic doctrine, and you will never defeat it purely on the level of economics. It is true that a prospering Western Europe would be less vulnerable to Soviet propaganda and would have an immense magnetic appeal to the countries in Eastern Europe under Soviet control. But " not by bread alone " are you going to overcome the Soviet challenge, for it is a challenge which transcends the need for " bread " and what bread involves.

The second ground for these essays in approximation is *political*.

Western Europe must look to its defences against possible—it may be eventual—Soviet attack. Under modern circumstances Britain could scarcely defend itself against a Power that had occupied all Western Europe ; and the Americas would find themselves in a very critical situation if confronted with a Russia in control of most of Europe as well as half of Asia. The first line of defence of the Western world has to be fixed somewhere in Europe and must with time be made sufficiently formidable to deter the Russians from attack. I am not suggesting there are no difficulties on this point. They most certainly do exist : some of them rise from an unreal outlook of politicians ; some are the result of war experience coupled with Communist propaganda and influence ; some spring naturally enough from the geographical position. In France, for instance, there is a widespread notion among people not at all affected by Communism that, in the event of a Russian advance towards Western Europe, no effective military defence could be provided. However, the necessity of some such defence is generally recognized throughout Western Europe, and the necessity calls for closer collaboration between its peoples.

Behind the economic and the political motifs there is a deeper and more fundamental element in this desire for narrower and more genuine association. One might term it cultural or historic or even religious, for it is all three at once. The European countries are being forced by the progress of history and the advance of science to think once again in terms of *Europe*. For the past three or four centuries Europe has been the theatre in which the various scenes of history have been enacted. These were largely a record of rivalries—rivalries of European Powers. France and Spain, the Empire, Germany and Britain—these were the protagonists, with a chorus of lesser countries. The twentieth century has altered all this. The world has shrunk. Science and psychology have seen to that. The centre of gravity has shifted outside of Europe, Westward to the United States and Eastward into Soviet Russia. The chief actors upon the stage of Europe are no longer individual European countries, acting and reacting towards one another ; they have to be the European Powers in concert, framing an attitude and policy in unison with regard to the Powers outside : to the New World of the Americas, and here in the first place to the United States, and to the new Eastern world of Soviet Russia. From the New World of the Americas come support and understanding and practical aid and backing, for these lands are an extension of Europe and they share in the European heritage of faith and culture. The new Eastern world confronts Europe with a doctrine and a spirit that are entirely different from the European spirit, and the challenge is the more radical and threatening because Russia controls more than one third of Europe. Asia threatens Europe, as Asia has always threatened Europe. Indeed, the main significance of Europe is that its peoples in the past have understood and faced that challenge whether it came from

Tartar, Turk or Moor—and, facing it, in the end have conquered. When the peoples of Europe withstood this challenge, they were conscious that they were *European* men, that their differences from one another mattered but little in front of an enemy common to them all and resolutely opposed to their common European spirit. The genuine European of to-day realises that Europe is facing the onslaught of a new " Islam "—an " Islam " of godlessness and militant materialism. And he appreciates this danger all the more keenly because his fellow-Europeans to the East already feel its savage yoke. He is conscious that he is summoned to a fresh understanding of Europe and of that heritage and those values associated with this name. All are challenged ; they would all run the risk of perishing, were that challenge to emerge triumphant.

III

It is important, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world, to lay emphasis upon this cultural, philosophic and even religious aspect of the European problem. Far too many of its politicians and writers think of it as in the main economic. Restore prosperity, they argue, establish a reasonably decent standard of living, and you will have solved the difficulty. But it is far more than a question of method, more than a clash between those who place everything ruthlessly under State control and then in turn submit this State administration to the complete direction of one political party and those others who, in the older tradition, leave a large sphere open for private enterprise and individual initiative. The clash goes deeper ; you have the meeting of two philosophies. The sad thing is that, in the Anglo-Saxon world, which very definitely appreciates the values and advantages of the Western way of thought and life, there are so many persons who fail to glimpse the philosophy which must underlie their position. They do not understand those spiritual elements which went to the making of the Western way of thought and life, and without which it is difficult to appreciate and even to defend that life and thinking. They are accordingly at a grave disadvantage in attempting to repel by materialist and economic weapons what is, in the final resort, an attack upon a spiritual conception of life and civilization.

This fallacy can be detected in the attitude of many Labour supporters in Britain that only in Socialism can you discover the true antidote to Communism. Maybe they are taking their analogy from " inoculation ". You infect a man with a small dose of some disease to render him immune from subsequent attack. But this would be, in effect, to set up a minor materialism to avoid the threat of a major materialism. Let the State control one half or a quarter of the nation's industries and then, by some feat of Marxist magic, you have averted the danger that the State will

control them all. Now, no one denies these days that the State may intervene in social and economic matters for the general good to protect rights and improve conditions. But it is foolish to pretend that here, in the 25 or 50 per cent. State control of the national life you have the remedy against Communism. In the first place, you are talking economics, and the problem lies much deeper. In the second place, you are using bad psychology, for who is to call the halt and draw the line? And, finally, if one leaves theory for evidence, one discovers that in Europe since 1945 it is certainly not the Socialist parties which have provided this antidote to Communism or have even stood firm before its challenge. One of the main difficulties which, I think, the Labour mind has in Britain with regard to the question of European association springs from its knowledge that Western Europe is, in the main, opposed to Socialism and during the past five years has more and more markedly rejected it.

This difficulty is complicated further by a certain British suspicion of religion whenever it appears to be influencing political questions. Religion, so runs their train of thinking, is an individual matter and it must be sternly kept apart from politics. Politics are a secular business to be conducted on secular lines. It is the old Protestant thesis of private judgment which relegates religion to the limbo of private things. As a consequence of this mental tendency, many Englishmen misjudge and misunderstand the political parties which have done splendid work on the Continent since 1945 and have provided the main bulwark against Communism—for instance in Western Germany and in Italy. Their suspicion arises from the fact that these parties campaign under explicitly Christian titles—the *Christian Democratic Union* in Germany and in Italy the *Democristiani*—and openly profess a Christian philosophy. Such Englishmen feel more at home, at any rate in theory, with Continental Socialists, and it is a matter of fact—and I add, of much regret—that they have supported Socialists in Germany and Italy against the central Christian parties on which the governments in the two countries have been based—a proceeding which, to say the least, is scarcely democratic. They feel more at home, I should say, with Scandinavians than with Latins.

Now, this is a serious psychological problem. If the British are to associate more closely with the French, the Germans and generally with the peoples of Western Europe, they must gradually acquire a new psychological approach, and on this particular point English-speaking Catholics can do a great deal to create it. They must learn that *labels*, however convenient, are frequently misleading, that the terms " Socialist " and " Social Democrat ", as employed on the Continent, are not synonymous with the expression " Socialist " in Britain any more than the " Liberalism " condemned by Pope Leo XIII was the Liberalism of Mr. Clement Davies. They must abandon the habit of imagining that, because political parties profess a Christian way of thinking, they are necessarily conservative,

in the political sense, or reactionary, whatever that blithe epithet may indicate, or mere cloaks for the sinister machinations of capitalists, military men and semi-fascists.

In point of fact, these central parties of the Continent that have come into prominence since 1945 are a factor of the highest significance. They are *central* parties, in the fundamental meaning of that word. And, at the same time, they are markedly European. In one sense, they are *conservative*. Conscious of the heritage of Europe, they are anxious to preserve it; they are sympathetic towards and influenced by the Christian religion, principally in its Catholic form, which has contributed so much to that heritage; they have the old philosophy of man which sees him in his relationship to his Creator and can appreciate in and through that relationship the man's individual dignity and value and his rights, a philosophy that can understand the position and significance of the family as the citadel of personal formation and social cohesion, that endeavours to promote rather than to lessen personal freedom and to achieve that balance between liberty and discipline which guarantees a stable and secure State.

This does not imply that all members of these parties subscribe in full to every aspect or article of this basic philosophy; they have their wings, their shades of difference; but the philosophy is there and it is a *philosophy*, a permanent attitude, which does guide, encourage and inspire. There are differences within these parties, as I have noted. In Germany, for instance, Dr. Adenauer is definitely conservative in the traditional sense, while other prominent men in the C.D.U.—such as Ministerpresident Arnold and Herr Jakob Kaiser—are more "progressive", to use that ambiguous expression, that is more conscious of social problems. Doubtless there are groups and individuals inside these parties that are more interested in the parties' stand against Communism than in the basic philosophy upon which they take their stand. But *take their stand*—this they most certainly do; and this stand they take upon a fundamentally Western and Christian basis.

But, with this conservative element is conjoined a second element, that is "progressive". While these parties desire to conserve what is worth the conservation—and no man with a European mentality would deny there is a very great deal indeed worth the conserving—they advocate at the same time a programme of social reform and reconstruction along the lines laid down in the encyclicals of recent Popes. This again, I think, is a stumbling block for many Protestants and free-thinkers. What, they ask themselves, is a religious body about when it prescribes principles for social legislation? Is not that the layman's business? Precisely, but the business of a layman properly instructed and informed. That, at any rate, would be the Catholic reply.

And here there occurs to my mind a distinction which I seem constantly to be meeting in England, between the Catholic and the non-Catholic

outlook. The non-Catholic, on account of his belief that religion is personal and individual rather than corporate or collective and because as a rule he sits very lightly even to the denomination to which he may belong, regards his religion as providing him with a measure of " theology " ; it assures him of certain beliefs and ethical standards. But his general attitude towards public questions does not appear to be so strongly affected or directed by these beliefs. Religion for him is generally a thing private and apart, a matter of personal behaviour rather than of general outlook. The Catholic, on the other hand, is aware that his religious beliefs have their lessons and consequences for every department of human activity and knows that he ought to judge and react in accordance with these consequences.

It is, I consider, fair to find this basic philosophy behind the various Christian and in the main Catholic political parties upon the Continent. These are not all of one piece ; they vary in their complexion, according to the temperament of peoples and the urgency of political problems, from the older and more conservative Catholic parties in Belgium and Holland through the central parties of Western Germany and Austria to the possibly more radical M.R.P. in France. The accent varies ; the emphasis may move ; but there remains a basis fundamental to them all.

For the North American and British an appreciation of these facts is needed in view of the desire for closer European co-operation. The American mind is so habituated to the complete separation between State and Church, which for it means a multitude of " churches ", that it is puzzled even by the familiar European practice of State financial assistance to religious schools and bewildered by a political philosophy that is Christian. The English mind, as has been said already, is suspicious of religious ideas in public life. Yet the European governments with which the Americans and the British have to deal are, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, strongly influenced by this philosophy and it commands a widespread support among their peoples.

All this might be framed, of course, in a simpler and more concrete way. One of the main problems for the Anglo-Saxon mind in its new approach to Europe is to have some understanding and appreciation of Catholicism. The Western European mind is, in the main, Catholic ; and it is conscious of Catholicism, not only as providing its system of religious belief but as responsible, more than any other factor, for what it understands as European civilization and culture. It is from this Catholicism that it draws also the basic philosophy that so evidently influences its attitude towards social and political questions. Now, the general Anglo-Saxon mind has been brought up in ignorance of, and often in hostility to, Catholicism. This hostility it must lay aside—or the co-operation which is now so ardently wished for will never properly materialise ; it will remain on the economic plane, and that is not sufficient.

Whether the time is ripe—or whether the day has even dawned—for some kind of Federation of Europe is a topic I do not propose to discuss. Generally speaking, I think the answer is negative. It is foolish to run far ahead of realities, and the peoples of Western Europe, however much they have in common—and all have given their share to the common European heritage—are still very conscious indeed of their dissimilarities. It is more important and more practical to make them realise that, despite their differences, they must work more really together—for reasons of economy and defence and because they have a common philosophy and civilization—and they should emphasize more and more this joint inheritance and their joint necessities. Much is being attempted, as can be realised when one compares the relations to-day between the governments of France and Western Germany with those obtaining after the first World War ; and there is more laudable cultural *rapprochement*.

IV

It must not be ignored that various countries in Western Europe have their special problems which militate against this closer co-operation. Take France, for one example. There, the Communist party is still strong, though it has lost its commanding position of 1945 and much of its revolutionary fire. However, it does control most of the Trades Unions, even if its more recent experiments in strikes have scarcely won the loyalty of these Union members. So far as European collaboration is in question, the Communists exist as *saboteurs*. There is also a potentially powerful anti-Communist movement, associated with the person of General de Gaulle, which, though European in a general manner, might not be friendly to the type of European co-operation which is now envisaged.

What also requires attention, and at this I have hinted already, is a French mentality, no doubt the offspring of experiences from 1940 to 1945, which doubts the efficacy of French intervention and inclines towards a notion of French neutrality in the event of war between the United States and Russia. The arguments used are twofold. The first is that France cannot under conditions of modern warfare defend itself ; it failed to do so in 1940 and would again fail, should Russia march through Western Europe. The second is that the expense involved in complete rearmament, and indeed the expenses suggested in the American programme for France, would be out of all proportion to France's monetary possibilities, and they could be provided only by the lowering of standards within France itself and at the serious risk of political disturbances. France, they would argue, was split, psychologically and politically, in 1940 ; it would be split even more severely in the event of another war.

This attitude is reinforced by a natural suspicion of Germany and by the general French insistence that Germany must remain disarmed. Yet this very insistence turns back upon the French position and makes

it more untenable. If Western Germany is to stay disarmed and accordingly to be capable of no military defence, then the main burden of such defence is thrust upon French shoulders. The dilemma is that France alone cannot adequately defend Western Europe but that, though she might do so effectively in partnership with Western Germany, she refuses or is extremely loath to risk that partnership.

Nor is the situation of Western Germany without its problems. It seems reasonably clear that the present government of Western Germany, with its backing of the *Christian Democratic Union*, is seriously attempting to be both democratic and European, though here it must be remembered that the German Socialists, under Herr Schumacher, have been opposing European co-operation; they would demand apparently a European collaboration on Socialist lines. What is not so clear is how far the democratic system established at Bonn commands the full sympathies of the Western and Southern Germans. They are anxious to run their own affairs, and this new system is at any rate one method of running them.

It is clear also that these Germans are opposed to Communism and detest Russia. What is not so evident is just how far their desire for a reunited Germany from West and East is uppermost in their outlook and what price they might be ready to afford for its realization. If Western Germany were to be accepted fully into the Western European community and in time her military resources to be integrated with those of the other European Powers, then the division of Germany into two portions might well appear to have hardened into a permanent fact. One ought not to ignore the strong regional sentiments in parts of Germany which always resented Prussian dominance, but underlying these feelings is a strong craving for restoration of unity; the spirit and vitality of the people of Berlin during the past five years have certainly emphasized the significance of Berlin in the German mind. The present Bonn government is the best of its kind available to-day in Germany; it is more European in sense and attitude than would be the alternative government of the Social Democrats. But it must inevitably feel a temptation not to commit itself irrevocably to the West for fear of losing definitely the Eastern third of Germany—and maybe also a further temptation, that of playing West against East and East against West, of using its position to bargain for its own advantage.

V

There is one other country which must be considered, when the question of European association is examined. And yet it is tacitly—and even vociferously—agreed that this country must be omitted from the European programme. I am speaking, of course, of Spain.

Now, it is true that the historical development of Spain has been

different from that of France or Germany, and that Spaniards are different people from the French and Germans and the English.

But are they so very different? It is doubtless true that the government of Madrid is not quite democratic in the sense of Washington or Westminster; but neither, it might be hinted, is that of Lisbon. Nor, to turn a gentle riposte into an avalanche of argument, are the governments of Moscow, Budapest, Belgrade or Prague. Yet to these governments the Western Powers have been perfectly ready to extend the hand of friendship and the resources of North American aid. The Spaniards are a very European people and they have fulfilled a particularly European rôle in their centuries-old struggle with the invader from outside, the Arabs and the Moors from Africa. While other European countries bathed in the sunny glory of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the small princedoms in Northern Spain held the ramparts of Europe against Africa just as Poles and Hungarians held them further to the East against the Asiatic Tartars. Nor ought one to miss, in our own times, the European character of the Spanish campaigns against the threat of Communism.

The exclusion of Spain from this new Western European concert is scarcely explicable except in terms of prejudice—and of a prejudice which ought now to be thoroughly outworn, since it belongs to the general interpretation of events from 1936 to 1944, which assumed that everything that issued from the extreme Left was quite sound and proper and everything from a supposed "Right" was foul and iniquitous. The Western Powers, in their dealings with Russia, have learnt to set aside these silly canons of interpretation. They remain only here—in their attitude towards Spain. Politicians find it hard maybe to confess that they have been mistaken or to cast aside old prejudices that they have found convenient. But to-day especially must prejudice give way to realities or the prospects of rescuing Europe will be grim indeed.

Leaving to one side all question of the rights and wrongs of the Franco government—they are scarcely to the point once we recognize, as we do, governments like those of Russia and the satellite countries—one has to recall, in any review of the defence of Western Europe, the peculiarly strategic position of Spain. Spain is the centre of any such defence plan, with the two wings radiating from it, northwards through France and the Low Countries to Scandinavia and eastwards along the Mediterranean to Italy and Greece. And more than this. It is a double bridgehead: in the first place, the bridgehead between Europe and Africa—the continent that, in any war to come, will have the highest strategical significance; and secondly, the natural bridgehead between Europe and the Americas. Yet, for reasons of political prejudice, these basic realities are forgotten or most unwisely ignored.

JOHN MURRAY

ROCKETS JETS AND SPACE FLIGHT

BY REV. P. J. MACLAUGHLIN, D.SC.

TWENTY years ago the age-old art of rocketry was revolutionised through a great technical development. Direct consequences were the modern powerful rocket motor and the jet engine as well as Hitler's frightening weapon of war, the V.2. The scepticism which had prevailed for centuries about the possibility of ever achieving notable power with rockets was suddenly succeeded by enormous enthusiasm, especially in the United States, where engineers of repute spoke seriously of space flight being just round the corner, and said that the new rocket motor would give us interplanetary travel before this generation passed away. Is the claim extravagant? What is the truth about the new type of rocket motor? Can it be developed to the point of making space travel a reality?

I

Before dealing with these questions, it may be well to point out that the significance of the new developments in rocketry has not been grasped by the public, partly because they have been overshadowed by the discovery of how to release atomic energy and partly because of imposed secrecy. Most of us are aware that Germany's famous rocket research station, Peenemünde, has successors in America, in Australia, and in Russian territory; but it is common knowledge that these stations reveal little or nothing about the long range rockets they are experimenting upon. While the full story of modern rocket power cannot therefore be told, it is easy enough to glean the more important facts about it from some recent reliable publications, so that it does not seem to be impossible to infer the actual trend of development in the art of rocketry.

The new era in rocket power is due chiefly to two men, Goddard in America and Oberth in Europe. Working independently each of them arrived at the liquid fuel rocket.

Between the years 1915 and 1936, in a series of experiments which have become classic, Goddard investigated nearly every design of rocket; and in 1926 at Auburn, Massachusetts, he launched the world's first rocket to be powered with liquid fuel. Though his object was to develop the rocket for meteorological investigations in the higher atmosphere, he was aware of the more remote applications of the subject. Thus, in his earliest publication *A Method of Reaching Extreme Altitudes*, which appeared in 1919, we find him estimating the size of rocket required to reach the moon with sufficient flash-powder for the arrival to be visible from the earth.

Oberth's experiments were financed by a German Film Company which wanted a realistic rocket for one of its films. In contrast to Goddard Oberth was more mathematician than experimenter. The critics told him that his theory of a liquid-gas motor was all wrong, that it was not practical to bring liquid oxygen and petrol or alcohol together for continuous combustion, that such a mixture would not burn quietly but would explode shatteringly. The critics were men who had much experience in handling liquid gases and their opinion was worth something. All the same Oberth tried out the mixture and found that the critics were wrong. After a few accidents which did him no serious harm, he found he could make a liquid-air motor work even better than he had hoped from his theory. The subsequent development of Oberth's ideas ideas in Peenemünde under Hitler's orders involved major engineering feats, such as handling tons of liquid air and controlling the flight of a giant rocket in and above the stratosphere.

To appreciate the magnitude of the revolution brought about by the liquid fuel rocket, something has to be said about the type of rocket which preceded it, the powder rocket. The story at one point has a special interest for Irish readers. The powder rocket is nearly as old as gunpowder. It derives its power from slow-burning or " lazy " gunpowder. Its story is the story of a long period of small achievements by Chinese, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. Early last century a great spurt in development was caused by a book, *The Rocket System*, written by one William Congreve. (The Dublin edition appeared in 1817). There are grounds for believing that Congreve was influenced by researches of Robert Emmet. We know from Madden's *United Irishmen*[1] that the Irish patriot was a pioneer in rocket research. He was of an inventive turn of mind, and when he heard from Irish soldiers that rockets had been used in India for military purposes, he experimented with them in Dublin. Emmet's rockets were first tried out in 1803 in a field near Irishtown, and an eye-witness reports that they travelled a considerable distance. One of the men who had been engaged in making rockets for the Rising was subsequently employed in making munitions at Woolwich, where Congreve studied the art of manufacturing instruments of war, and it is thought that through this man Congreve learned of Emmet's work.[2]

Whatever about Congreve's knowledge of Emmet's experiments, Congreve's influence was strongly felt in military circles, and his book *The Rocket System* is still a classic work on war rockets. Besides describing how the rocket can serve humanitarian purposes, such as throwing a life-line to victims of shipwreck, the book called attention to the great

[1] Dublin 1846. Third Series, **3**, 108. See Hope's evidence.

[2] E. O. Riagain, in *The Irish School Weekly* (1949) pp. 284–5, has an article on Emmet's rocket, but unfortunately he fails to give his sources.

variety of ways in which rockets can be employed in warfare. Many of Congreve's ideas took shape and came to life in the late world wars. They were seen in the German smokey rocket, the *nebelwerfer*, and in the British " whoopee " designed to bring down bombers. The Russian thirty-rocket battery used against Panzers and their " up-side-down " rocket employed against planes were also twentieth century realisations of Congreve's ideas. The only type not foreseen and advocated by him was the famous American anti-tank " bazooka ", which owed its destructive power to a special shaping of the charge.

The principle of the rocket is the principle of all locomotion, and it may be illustrated from the commonest form of locomotion, walking. When you walk, you kick the earth away from you. The distance the earth moves is imperceptible because the earth is so much more massive than you are. The recoil becomes evident when a gun is fired : the charge sends the bullet forward and forces the gun backward with equal momentum. The rocket may be looked on as a gun in continuous action firing out spurts of gas instead of bullets. When the spurts are fast enough you have a continuous jet. It has to be emphasised that rockets do not get their thrust through the jet " pushing on the air behind " as a great many people think. In fact, the rocket is most effective in a vacuum where there is no air to resist its motion. Hence the rocket motor is the ideal engine for flight through space.

Corresponding to the three kinds of explosive, gunpowder, high-explosive, and atom bomb—which mark the three steps by which man has advanced towards the core of matter—there must be three grades of rocket power. Two of them have been realised, and the third—a rocket powered by nuclear energy—lies in the future. It is certain that a long technical road will have to be travelled before the third type of rocket power becomes a reality. At present the huge weight of material needed to generate even the smallest amount of atomic power makes the employment of nuclear energy in a rocket motor unpracticable.

Of the two practical sorts of rocket, the powder rocket has a range which is limited to a few thousand yards ; but the liquid air rocket has already achieved a range of hundreds of miles. There is a like contrast between the power of the two types. The powder rocket never got beyond the pygmy scale, while as far back as 1945 the V.2 had a take-off weight of 12½ tons,[1] and the motor developed the best part of a thousand horse-power. Unfortunately the consumption of fuel is extremely high,[2] so that the power generated suffers from two disadvantages : it is extremely costly and its active or useful life is extremely short.

[1] This included 1 ton warhead, 5 tons liquid oxygen and 4 tons alcohol.

[2] The V.2 used up its 9 tons of fuel in less than 2 minutes.

The jet engine can be regarded as the logical outcome of the liquid air rocket.[1] The essential difference between the rocket motor and the jet engine is that the rocket carries all its fuel with it, while the jet takes in half its fuel from the surrounding air. The jet thus effects a great saving in weight since it does not carry a load of liquid oxygen, but the advantage is lost in a rare atmosphere and the jet is useless if you wish to travel through space. The advantage is also to some degree offset by the need for a compressor and auxiliary machinery. The compressor has the duty of packing vast sups of air into small space before delivering them to the combustion chamber, from which they issue as the high-speed exhaust gas or jet whose reaction thrusts the machine forward. The motor is said to be " jet-propelled ", and it is clear that " jet-propulsion " is but the up-to-date form of " rocket-propulsion ".

If the jet of exhaust gas expands through a turbine so arranged as to drive the compressor, you have a jet driving a turbine, and the combination is called a " turbo-jet ". As a prime mover, the turbo-jet is extremely inefficient except at very high speeds. Consequently, it is unlikely to be widely used save for aircraft moving at high speed (in excess, say, of 450 miles an hour.)

II

The speed of an aircraft in level flight depends on its shape, weight and power. After the Wright brothers succeeded in flying in 1903, the speeds of flying-machines went on increasing at a steady rate until about a decade ago, when the " sound barrier " was reached. At this stage serious difficulties were experienced. When a plane is urged to move through air faster than sound travels, the air, so to speak, cannot hear or get warning of the approaching machine and is therefore unable to get out of the way ; the air behaves almost like concrete and shock waves are formed with an enormous loss of energy. The great difficulties experienced in the early 1940's led to the belief that flight at the speed of sound would be well-nigh impossible. It was seen that increasing the engine-power would be of little use. Advance came from German work on swept back wings, a simple theory that it is the speed of the air at right angles to the leading edge of a plane and not in the direction of flight that is important, being partly confirmed by experiment. This improvement would, however, be of small value so long as a propeller driven by a petrol engine remained the method of propulsion. The tip of the propeller is the first part of a plane to be affected by air resistance. Two types of power allow the propeller to be discarded ; the turbo-jet and the new rocket motor. At speeds near the speed of sound, the turbo-jet is better than the rocket motor ; but at higher speeds, and particularly at great heights, the latter is more efficient. It is quite

[1] Historically the idea is old, but the first practical engines only saw the light of day a dozen years ago, chiefly through the efforts of Swiss and English engineers.

possible that it may be preferred in the military planes of the future on account of its relative simplicity. If so, a considerable part of the world's energies will be devoted to developing the ideal motor for space travel.

We conclude that the attainment of high speed is a costly business, since it involves the expenditure of great power, particularly as the speed of sound is approached. The fuel consumption is almost fantastic, and the endurance of the machine is extremely low. It is possible to design a plane to fly a thousand miles an hour for a few minutes for experimental purposes, but the problem of designing a practical aircraft to fly at such speed is a baffling one at present.

There is another consideration of general interest. The piloted plane must be able to take off and land safely. It grows harder to ensure such qualities as the top speed of a craft increases. This fact and the short endurance put the piloted plane at a disadvantage compared with guided weapons like, say, the V.2. It is expected then that the guided missile will tend to replace the high-speed interceptor for military purposes. The flexibility of the piloted plane, however, gives it an advantage which may enable it to survive for a decade or more. It seems reasonable to conclude that, for years to come, Irish Defence Services must include and budget for high-speed interceptor aircraft.

There seems to be a further conclusion that we should draw from a consideration, however short, of latest published expert opinion on the subject of how the jet engine is likely to affect aviation in its various phases.[1] It would appear to be a waste of public funds to maintain and embellish Shannon Airport when already a jet airliner like the de Haviland Comet is a reality. What traveller from the New World will desire to stop at Shannon when Dublin, London, and Paris are only minutes away? In this case, however, speed is not the only factor of importance. For passenger services, safe flying is as important as speedy flying. In the case of east-bound flights across the Atlantic, safety demands that allowance be made for failures and errors on the human side, for mechanical failures, and for the retarding effects of great unexpected storms; and this requires that the European terminus should be at the ocean's edge, as Shannon is. For westerly transatlantic flights, the question of pay-load is paramount. Business people will not load up their aircraft with vast quantities of fuel if it is possible to replace some of it by highly profitable merchandise or passengers. The nearer the airport is to the ocean, the less the fuel-load needed for the trans-ocean hop and the greater the pay-load that can be taken by the machine. It would seem that for many years to come the load of fuel required for jet aircraft to cross the Atlantic will be staggering, so that it is unlikely that they will be able to dispense with Shannon airport. There are also the natural advantages of the port

[1] I refer readers, who wish to have technical details on the subject, to the special supplement in *The Times*, April 1950, "Review of the Progress of Science", p. 7 and p. 12.

which will serve to maintain it in existence ; through the absence of sudden hills in its vicinity it is one of Western Europe's least dangerous airports to approach, especially for crippled machines ; and the record shows that it possesses the important quality of being exceptionally fog-free. We can safely conclude that the coming of the jet does not mean the end of Shannon as a transatlantic airport.

III

Before Goddard and Oberth, the Russian Ziolkovsky and the eminent French aeronautical engineer, Esnault-Pelterie, were prominent among those who studied to apply the rocket to space flight. Right from the start Oberth was ambitious, and his outstanding book, which appeared in 1929, had the forthright title " The Way to Space Travel " (*Wege zur Raumschiffahrt*). In this remarkable publication Oberth gave a full mathematical discussion of interplanetary flight, and he considered in detail all the technical problems involved in the design of manned " spaceships " which would be capable of journeying to the moon and planets. He also referred to the possibility of artificial moons or man-made satellites of mother earth, and this subject has since been taken up officially in the United States. Because of its higher dramatic value, his work had a greater immediate influence than Goddard's patient but unspectacular investigations. Oberth's writings led to the establishment in Germany of the " Society for Space Travel " (*Verein für Raumschiffahrt*) which in the period 1929–1933 designed and fired liquid fuel rockets—and, thereby, trained men who were later to make rocket development Germany's chief technical contribution in World War II. The story of their work at the rocket research station of Peenemünde has been told in *Rockets and Space Travel* by Willy Ley,[1] who makes it clear that German interest in rockets was first stimulated by their interplanetary, and not by their military, implications. In the closing months of the second world war, the gigantic technical achievement of the V.2 rocket made known to an astonished world the results of ten years' intensive and secret research. Laymen having got over their shock jumped to the conclusion that interplanetary flights would soon be possible. Reputable publications in America began discussing quite seriously, as matters of immediate importance, the military advantages of Mars and the moon. Their speculations soared with the release of atomic energy. Here, they said, is the fuel with which to master space ; the engine already exists in the new rocket. The idea of special clubs, designed to study the problems of flight beyond the stratosphere, spread. The space-travel clubs of Russia and Germany have now successors in English-speaking countries. The " British Interplanetary Society " publishes a journal

[1] *Rockets and Space Travel* by Willy Ley. 380 pages. Illustrated. London : Chapman and Hall. 1950. 18s.

bi-monthly, and the papers range from the purely mathematical to the literary and philosophical aspects of interplanetary travel and related subjects. The " American Rocket Society " publishes quarterly, and although it is primarily concerned with rocket engineering, it publishes papers on astronautics, or navigating through space.

The problems which we think have to be solved to achieve flight beyond the earth's atmosphere, first by radio-controlled unmanned rockets and, later, by true " space-ships ", are numerous. Before engineers can build a space-ship for an intrepid adventurer to other worlds, consideration must be given to the physical problem of the necessary power, to the astronomical problem of the orbit to be followed, and to the physiological problem of how to maintain the well-being of the pilot. Solutions to the main problems are expected to be found within the next fifty years, so that it is not impossible that the century which opened with man's conquest of the air will also witness his first exploration of the moon and nearer planets. Many reputable engineers think that technical progress has gone far enough to warrant a belief in man's ability to break away from mother earth and send ships voyaging effortlessly through space. In their opinion, astronautics to-day finds itself in the position reached by flying at the end of last century, when all the necessary fundamental knowledge was available and it only remained to apply it.

The chief physical problem to be solved before space travel can become a reality is the problem of power, how to get enough power to escape from the gravitational clutch of mother earth and go sailing without further effort through space, where power is only needed in negligible amounts for navigational purposes and whenever the sphere of influence of other celestial bodies is encountered. Present rocket power has only to be multiplied by three to furnish us with the required " escape velocity ". This, however, is a big sum in multiplication and it cannot be done with existing chemicals in a liquid fuel rocket. An atomic rocket would appear to be necessary, and the development of a rocket powered with nuclear energy is a long way off, as previously explained. Yet there is a feasible way of employing known chemical fuels in a rocket so as to get enough power to escape from the earth's gravitational field. The solution of the problem is to escape, not in one jump directly, but in two or more jumps, through the establishment of a " space-station " or stations. The space-station would be an up-to-date form of " Laputa ", the flying island described by Swift in his satire of men of science in *Gulliver's Travels*. The theory of the space-station is well known from astronomy, and its realisation presents only practical difficulties, which developments in physics and engineering are expected to overcome in a relatively short time if the present rate of progress in these sciences is maintained. Considerable work on the subject is being done in America and probably elsewhere. Once the space station is established, present rocket power

would be sufficient to carry a space-ship from the station away from the earth's sphere of influence. A suitable space station could be set up if present rocket power were doubled.

Once one has got clear of the earth's atmosphere, the subsequent orbit is a question of dynamics, and as such it raises no new problem. Steering in space would be by rocket motor supplemented by gyroscope. To find out how to leave the earth's atmosphere with least expenditure of energy, we call in the ballistics expert as well as the man of science. An accepted solution of the problem has been obtained by Oberth. For safe landing on planets, the rocket motor would be used in reverse to prevent the speed of landing from becoming disastrously high. In some instances, atmospheric resistance would help as a brake. All these problems are well understood.

The least explored part of the question is on the physiological side. The problems touch the chemistry and physics of life, the things and conditions required to ensure the well-being of the pilot. We know that certain foods and certain amounts of them are necessary, we know that suitable temperature and pressure must be maintained, we know that in one way or another the pilot must bring his own atmosphere with him, in the form of, say, a space suit or a pressurised cabin. The idea of a space suit is not wholly new, and useful knowledge is accumulating from the experience of divers and submarine crews and fliers who have used pressurised cabins in aircraft. Test pilots have furnished information about the effects of unusual accelerations on the human body, but the effect of weightlessness on body functions—in free space a person has no weight—is an entirely novel problem and will require investigation.

IV

For those of our readers who would like to pursue the subject of flight through space, there are two books in English which can be recommended, the one long and the other short. The long one has already been mentioned. It is by Willy Ley. For many years Ley was a member of a German space-travel club and he was closely associated with the European inventor of the liquid air rocket. Ley is an enthusiast. Interested in rockets and their applications since he was a boy, he has written several books embodying his specialised knowledge and experiences. Most of his publications appeared in America, where he found a home when politics drove him from his native land. His *Rockets and Space Travel* is essentially an engineer's book, but it covers the historical and other aspects of the subject with great, if sometimes uncritical, thoroughness. Most of the narrative can be followed easily by the general reader, for the author has a gift for explaining technical and scientific terms, and he invariably gives a clear and lucid explanation of the strange words he employs. In the treatment of his theme, he achieves a happy

compromise between the snap of American journalism and the tedious thoroughness of a German treatise. Like a good patriot, he emphasises the contribution of his countrymen to rocket research. Ley's book is meaty and stimulating, and one can readily make allowance for its over-enthusiastic tone.

A more compact account of the subject will be found in A. C. Clarke's *Interplanetary Flight*.[1] The writer is Assistant Secretary to the British Interplanetary Society. In a small book he succeeds in being remarkably comprehensive. Unlike Ley, he approaches the subject from the astronomical rather than from the engineering standpoint, and he develops in some detail the theory of interplanetary navigation. He surveys the possibilities and problems of travel from the earth to other planets so far as they can be foreseen at the present time. He shows that some of the problems are independent of the physical means employed for locomotion, so that it is possible to calculate here and now the speeds and times required for interplanetary voyages. For instance a trip to the moon would take the same time as a flight to America. Mr. Clarke's treatment is quantitative; he gives exact values and avoids vague generalities. But he keeps his formulae for the appendix and his exciting and persuasive discussion can be followed by readers who have little or no knowledge of science.

The books of Ley and Clarke, as well as several other recent publications, make it evident that the question of flight through space is no longer the preserve of fiction writers like Jules Verne and H. G. Wells. We have to note that man has already taken his first step to the moon by touching it with radar and receiving back the echo. Will man be content with this, or will sons of Adam journey forth to see the other side of the moon and try to gather some of the strange vegetation from the planet Mars? This century may see positive answers to these questions.

P. J. MacLaughlin

[1] *Interplanetary Flight*. An introduction to astronautics. 172 pages. Illustrated. London: Temple Press. 1950. 8s. 6d.

EMIGRATION: THE WITNESS OF GEOGRAPHY

BY AODH DE BLACAM

THE Geography of Ireland[1] which an English scholar has bequeathed to us, after a dozen years' sojourn among us and extensive field-work in several parts of our country, is a large and valuable work. We long have felt the need of such a *foras feasa ar Eirinn* or groundwork for the knowledge of Ireland, especially those of us who have devoted years to the study of the Emigration problem. The work has many defects: it must be revised and amplified before it can rank as a final, authoritative Geography of Ireland. After all, it is but one man's endeavour to produce a conspectus of an immense subject. Nevertheless, one may say at the outset that nowhere else can so much useful and trustworthy evidence on factors of the Emigration problem be found between two covers. And it is in that aspect that the following essay will discuss Mr. Freeman's contribution to Irish knowledge and Irish thought.

I

Those of us who grew to manhood in the early years of this century had received from our fathers one dominating purpose for Ireland—emigration must be stopped. Ever since the Famine, our country had been bleeding as if to death. "They are going—going—going" rang the burden in our minds; and, when Irishmen met in the lands of the *diaspora*, emigration was ever their anxious theme. All looked to self-government as the means to stop the haemorrhage; all believed that its coming would result in an immediate arrest of our people's flight. Industries would be founded, employment increased, the soil reclaimed, and our country would be flushed (like "liberated" lands) with hope and purpose. There would even be what John Mitchel had envisaged, a return of the Heraclidae; and had not Fanny Parnell dreamed of hearing "the harpings and the salvos and the shoutings of thy exiled sons returning"? In 1904 Lady Gregory, dedicating her *Gods and Fighting Men* to the members of the Irish Literary Society of New York, wrote: "We begin to hope that one day the steamers across the Atlantic will not go out full, but come back full, until some of you find your real home is here." Early in the second decade of the century it was reported that, for one year, natural increase had exceeded emigration, as if at last the tide was turned; and the present writer, in almost his first essay on national topics, hailed the

[1] Ireland: Its Physical, Historical, Social and Economic Geography. By T. W. Freeman. With 8 Plates, 2 Folders and 96 Text Maps. London: Methuen. 1950. 32/6 net.

tidings. Mrs. A. S. Green, thenabouts, wrote to the effect that successful national struggles come when the blood-strength of a race begins to mount.

The national struggle came, raged for a decade, and was three-quarters (or to be precise twenty-six-thirty secondths) triumphant. But for the national split and civil war, it is fairly certain that the dynamic idealism of the past struggle would have attained our fathers' purpose forthwith: that is to say, that the national resurgence would have gone on from the fight for independence into a grand racial recovery. Young men and women would have been inspired with delight in holding the sod they had won, and the rebuilding of Ireland would have gripped them as an adventure as glorious as its liberation. Please God, now that the bitterness of civil war has passed away, that will be the impulse of the generation which has risen since 1921 and which holds our country's future in its hands.

The beginning of all material work is in the mind: that we of the Christian tradition hold for an axiom in defiance of the Marxians, who believe that the mind only follows where economic circumstances dictate. Our emigration problem might be taken as a text to prove the case. For, if men were moved only by material factors, our country would have a rapidly growing population instead of being the one white country in which population has declined in modern times. We have the most fertile soil west of the Ukraine; our island stands beside the inter-continental trade-routes; our people are strong and intelligent and possess distinguished schools and universities. Yet the island carries only half as many people as it did in days before drainage, scientific fertilisation and mechanisation existed; within a lifetime, millions of acres have lapsed grievously in fertility or have even gone out of cultivation altogether; mineral and industrial development are still backward. In years when the world has starved, production from our soil and the workers employed on it have dwindled. We behold the tragic paradox of an underdeveloped country, full of promise and opportunity, still decaying in the only wealth that really matters: human life. In a word, we have not used the opportunities that God's Providence has lavished upon us in our natural inheritance; and, since this is contrary to economic reason, the cause must be non-economic. It is spiritual, mental: it is simply a continuance in the mid-twentieth century of that racial despair which smote our people after the horror-years of the Famine: a failure of national hope.

No normal people flies from its native soil if there is reasonable hope of survival and progress. No normal family is content to be broken up and scattered into far lands. No normal man or woman, able to make a living at home, prefers a living abroad for the sake of an increase in salary. What is a hundred pounds' increment when balanced against separation from one's kindred, one's old classfellows, one's home-town and nation, the rearing of one's children in their rightful spiritual environment?

The flight from Ireland, now that we have control of its resources and our personal future, is abnormal, morbid, and one might add absurd.

II

Now turn we to the evidence in the big book before us. As regards its first aspect, that of physical geography, our witness is satisfactory, but has not much to add to what we already know. Dr. R. Lloyd Praeger's latest volume, his splendid *Natural History of Ireland*, deals rather more amply with the climate, soil and vegetation of our fertile island. Other writers have treated of this matter over and over ; but let the two books be cited as the last words on the truth that we possess a rich soil, underdeveloped, and offering grand opportunities.

That much granted, when we ask why Ireland is still backward, the answer must be sought in history ; for—and this ought to be repeated in season and out of season, until everyone realises the governing truth—*in Ireland History has warred against Geography : Man has frustrated Nature.*

Unhappily, Mr. Freeman's chapter on Historical Geography is the weakest in his work. Perhaps that is inevitable when a writer thinks of the Irish as " they," not " we ". History must be written from the inside ; since it is a matter, not of measurable facts only, but of things in the mind, imponderables, realities that no statistician can assess. For Mr. Freeman, " they," the Irish of the past, were barbarians who had to learn civilisation from their conquerors. The Pale was " the land of peace". Outside was chaos. How the Irish produced an Eriugena at the beginning of the Middle Ages and a *Flos Mundi* at the end, he does not tell. He writes of the Saints Patrick and Columcille as " Saints " in inverted commas ; as if their canonisation by common consent were mere folklore. This will not do. It causes the author to pass over, as if it never happened, the creative work of the early monastic founders and its renewal by the Cistercians after the Scandinavian period. Coming later, it causes him to ignore the merits of the native economy. He does not describe the devastation of Munster, the destruction of native tillage in " Mountjoy's harvest," or the native system of " booleying "—though all this he might find in Spenser's account of Ireland, where it stands as legible as letters on a glass door seen from the wrong side.

Hence, this latest writer on historical geography has the same limitation as so many before him, who have treated Irish history before the deadline of 1700 as a blank, and have begun their story where the natural and native system ends. For these writers, Ireland is a cattle-ranch that has been partially improved : they accept the position reached after the wars of the 17th century as if it were the normal order. You might as well start writing the history of Central Europe at its present state of ruin and ignore

what existed before the *débacle*. This is no academic matter. Although history made a fresh start after the century of destruction and plantation, nevertheless traditions and instincts, living on from the past and striving to reassert themselves, forbade the success of the ascendancy and, after two centuries of strife, moulded our new order. To understand recent history aright, we must view it in the framework of a thousand years.

III

Though Mr. Freeman fails to trace the ancient innate factors that govern our history, his survey is helpful when it comes to modern times. He offers us, in particular, perhaps the best digest ever made of Arthur Young's invaluable survey. Young, in the seventeen-seventies, viewed Ireland with a true countryman's eyes. He described the appalling social and economic abuse, under a selfish and irresponsible ascendancy, of the ranching system in Munster. He applauded the efforts of some nobler chiefs of the Anglo-Irish, above all the great Foster, who were setting about the improvement of the soil and the development (more correctly, the restoration) of tillage. Between the enactment of Foster's Corn Law and the Famine, one lifetime, the population doubled. The rapidity of the increase has puzzled some people, who forget that it is in the nature of a vacuum to fill up quickly. Nature abhors a vacuum in economics as much as in a laboratory retort. Our country was unnaturally undeveloped, unnaturally underpopulated, when Foster's measure restored the means and opportunity to use the soil aright. Up went the population ; and, naturally also, up went the racial spirit to find political expression in the movements of the United Irishmen, of O'Connell, and of the Young Irelanders. Had one of those three movements succeeded in establishing a free and patriotic government, with a fair distribution of the wealth that the Ascendancy engrossed, the masses would not have been brought to disaster when a year's potatoes failed.

Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, which appeared in 1837, a veritable Domesday Book, is our best authority, after Young, for pre-Famine Ireland. Of this work Mr. Freeman makes good use. He fastens unerringly on one of the most illuminating passages of Lewis's county-by-county, parish-by-parish survey. It is that in which the Golden Vale is described as the best soil of Western Europe. Lewis tells that ranching had been so long the fashion, so long an easy way of life, that when a man in the region took to tillage, he was regarded as having come down in the world. That is to say, a sort of social prejudice, a taboo, discouraged the use of the plough. Under the alien lords a tradition of the wrong use of the land had grown up, much like a snob's contempt for and fear of manual labour. Is not this the key to difficulties in later times ? Where there is an ingrained prejudice against tillage and mixed farming, you cannot expect the close and diligent population of, say, the small-holding country-

side of Oriel. Here we discern how the scourging of Munster and the too-long reign of an alien feudalism had resulted in mental restrictions on recovery which were, and perhaps still are, more harmful than material wrongs.

Next after Lewis, in time, came Thomas Davis. He is a witness whom Mr. Freeman overlooks : one wonders why. Davis's writings on Population (conveniently accessible in the centenary volume of his poems and essays) have immense value by reason of the intense sincerity with which he approached the problem. As a youth, visiting his uncle the Rev. Hastings Atkins in the vicarage at Templederry, he acquired that deep, understanding love of the land, its people and its traditions, in which surely no writer save Pádraic Pearse has equalled him. Appalled by the evictions at Monaquill, he was seized by the passion of his life—to make the land the possession of those who labour it. Mr. Freeman's *dictum* that agricultural Ireland on the eve of the Famine " was an overcrowded country," is in direct conflict with the evidence of Davis writing in 1841 on Population. The people admittedly were poor and discontent, as well they might be when rack-rented and misgoverned. They vented their discontent in those agrarian outrages which Davis deplored and bravely rebuked ; but Davis did not think that there were too many people on the land. Hear him :—

> Send them to Australia ; let them be shipped to America, says some emigration quack. We are not quite sure whether a cool project for unpeopling a country does not merit rebuke without further enquiry. But why emigrate ? Is the produce too little for the people ? No. We export annually millions worth of food, and this while our country is agitated and miserably farmed.

—And Davis went on to cite the patriotic Blacker of Armagh, who demonstrated that if the rest of Ireland were as well cultivated as small-holding Armagh, " it would support two and half times the number of its present inhabitants and be able to export provisions largely beside ; for Armagh, notwithstanding its population, exports pork, butter and grain in great quantities". Blacker held, and Davis agreed with him, that even Armagh was yielding a bare half of what it could produce, if agriculture were improved by drainage, proper rotation of crops, and scientific measures.

What, if Davis and Blacker were right, at the time of our peak population, in holding that it could be greatly increased,—what was the real reason for the misery of those times ? " We must deal with the master grievances," Davis wrote. " Ireland exists, and her millions toil for an alien aristocracy, her soil sends forth its abundance to give palaces, equipages, women, and dainties to a few thousand ; while the people rot upon their native land." What folly, he said, to look for relief to palliatives " while the very land, ay, Ireland itself, belongs not to the people, is not tilled for the people ! Redress this and your palliatives will be needless."

Davis was spared the anguish of seeing the Famine and the breaking of the racial spirit that followed. Mitchel's Famine Essay preserves for us, with Dantesque power, the horror of the stupendous disaster. Famine was tethered on the land to destroy a nation: the most terrible work of genocide in Europe's history. Efforts to exonerate the rulers under whom this thing happened are nullified by the confession of their own spokesman, *The Times*, which rejoiced that the Celt would soon be as scarce as the Red Indian. It could not have happened under a friendly Government. Suppose that Famine had smitten the neighbouring island. It would not have been met with mere collections and paltry soup-kitchens, but arrested with all the resources of the State.

Frightful as the immediate suffering was, the despair that followed was worse. All down the centuries, the Irish people had shown a dogged determination to survive. They had outlived the Norman scourging, the Elizabethan, Cromwellian and Williamite clearances and conquests, winning back to their ancestral lands again and again; but now they were seized by panic and demoralisation. They lost their language at this time, and their memory snapped.

IV

From the time of the Famine onward, the area of land under fruitful use dwindled. Lewis records nearly four million acres of land, under crops or grazing, more than the total of today. Here we come to a fundamental question in economic geography to which Mr. Freeman fails to give us a categorical answer: fails, not for want of interest, but because our statistical authorities do not supply the necessary material. That question is this: *What is the actual area of productive soil in Ireland?*—with the supplementary questions: *How much land has lapsed from fruitful use, and how much of the lapsed land can be recovered with reasonable ease?*

We cannot form a true conception of the Emigration problem until we have the answers to these questions. We need a national survey, both in gross figures and in detail. For it is obvious that the potential population of our country, the potential size of its cities and the measure of its prosperity must be determined by the extent of its soil and minerals, its basic capital. Every hundred acres that cease to yield produce, be it crops, pasture or timber or turf, reduce the country's carrying power. (Was not Parnell's truly Irish genius revealed in his saying that the best patriot was the man who made two blades of grass grow where one grew before?) Now, the decline of fruitful land has gone on, and in our own lifetime, with never a halt until the last two years and the coming of Mr. James Dillon's Land Project, which has its greatest value in being a challenge to despair, a halting of a stampede.

Let us view the Twenty-Six County area. Seventy years ago, as official statistics record, there were close on 13 million acres under crops and pasture. The latest official statistics set the figure at $11\frac{1}{2}$ million, while

unofficial statements by public men of responsibility have told us that the true figure is about 10 million. It is certain, therefore, that at least 1½ million acres have lapsed from fruitful use into wild land and rough pasture in the lifetime of our living elders. Furthermore, within the zone of land still classed as agricultural, we have the spectacle, evident to every man who travels Ireland with a countryman's eye, of large areas that have declined in fertility through sheer lack of industrious use. In the identical district in rich-soiled Tipperary that Davis saw smitten by the evictors, you may see vast fields of neglected old meadow with a few beasts where there were herds and crops in Davis's day. Two years ago, Dr. Holmes the New Zealand expert wrote in his Grassland Report that he had seen, side by side of our best land, neglected stretches that were yielding as little as was possible under the Irish sky. To the lapsed marginal land, therefore, we must add the " Holmes land," if we would gain a just concept of the neglected millions of acres of our national capital.

Our statisticians, pressed to give us some estimate of the measure of our loss and so of our potential recovery, fail us. They say that enumerations taken at different times were taken by different standards of what constitutes " agricultural " land ; and that, even in a single enumeration, the standards of individual witnesses have varied. Our land, in fact, has been measured with elastic chains. What a Louth or Monaghan man regards as good land, a man from the rich South does not regard as land at all. (The present writer has heard an official use this description of land that yielded the wheat that fed the family). In brief, therefore, we have no trustworthy statistical evidence as to the measure of profitable land in the country as a whole—and no evidence as to what proportion of the lapsed land could be quickly restored by Mr. Dillon's drains and ground limestone. Until we have an adequate survey and it is interpreted by men who understand our land and our people, we are in the dark as to our country's economic potential and the optimum population which it could and should support. Meanwhile we may borrow from Mr. Freeman's book a quotation from our old friend and mentor, C. H. Oldham, whose words written in 1913 need little change today. " The pitiful 11-1 *per cent.* devoted to ploughland," Oldham wrote, " offers no adequate basis for the employment of the agricultural population in the arts of using a most fertile soil in the business of agriculture. Ireland," Oldham affirmed with a note of passion, " Ireland is but a ruined land, wasted and withered by the fifty-years-old struggle to settle the question of land tenure."

V

Does there live today any countryman capable of making an all-Ireland survey as thorough as those made by the giants Young and Lewis ? We have something of the sort for the Six Counties in Mr. J. M. Mogey's

Rural Life in Northern Ireland (1947)—a remarkable work. The author, aided by a team of trained investigators, explored five representative areas :—

1. A district among the clay pastures of Fermanagh ;
2. A marginal area in South Down, typical of the small tillage farms amid hill-country ;
3. The Braid Valley in Antrim, the *optimum* of Northern farming ;
4. A district near Belfast, serving the great urban market ;
5. An outlying area in the Antrim highlands.

These, between them, embrace all types of Northern rural life, so that the student who makes good use of the investigators' observations and tables can form a trustworthy estimate of the methods of farming, the standard of living, the level and distribution of population, the scope for improvement, the manners and customs of the whole country people of the Six Counties—where, by the way, the population employed on the land has increased in the last 10 years, though it declined heavily in the Twenty-Six Counties.

Much the same approach was made by Mr. Freeman, working sometimes with a team of the Geographical Society of Ireland, in the last five years, in parts of the Twenty-Six Counties, namely :—

1. Castleblayney, among the typical small-holders of the Border region ;
2. Tullamore, a midland " regional capital ; "
3. Carrick-on-Shannon, in a poorish countryside, sadly neglected as to modern progress ;
4. Roscommon, a regional capital that lacks industry to relieve its romantic backwardness ;
5. North-West Mayo, a marginal congested country.

The results of these field inquiries have been published in *Irish Geography* and in the Journal of the Statistical Society of Ireland ; and, where drawn upon in Mr. Freeman's big book, they afford the most trustworthy and satisfying descriptive parts. Their insufficiency, to provide a view of the whole Twenty-Six County area comparable to Mr. Mogey's of the smaller area, is obvious and tantalising. One wishes that the State, or one of our Universities, had perceived the importance of such work and had retained Mr. Freeman, with a team, to carry out further probes in areas such as :—

1. The districts serving the urban markets of Dublin and Cork ;
2. The dairying region of the Golden Vale ;
3. The ranchland of Meath ;
4. The natural tillage belt in South Leinster which, in the days of the Normans, produced grain for export on a relatively heavy scale ;

5. The Shannon valley ;
6. The marginal land in Galway, Clare and Kerry ;
7. The amphibious Highland and Lowland county of Donegal ;
8. The *optimum* area of traditional Irish life and land-use, the Cooley peninsula.

With such surveys as these added to those already made on both sides of the Border, we would possess a composite demographic picture of our island adequate for the tasks of our statesmen. Such a picture would be more serviceable than the description, in thirteen chapters which Mr. Freeman seeks to make factually correct by dint of industrious compilation. His thirteen regional chapters are, in truth, the fullest magazine of geographic facts to be found in a single volume ; but they have the balance and conviction of reality only where he draws on direct observation.

This may be exemplified by his account of West Mayo. He notes at Belmullet, an isolated and backward district, an exceptionally high population density, " where the decline during the last fifty years has been surprisingly slight". In his fuller survey of the region, published by the Statistical Society, he stressed the paradox of relatively low emigration from a district that offered so little in material terms to its people. Now this paradox is full of meaning. It might be underlined by anyone knowing the Donegal Highlands and isles ; for there too, despite " congested " conditions, people are tenacious of their homeland, and emigrants often return from American cities to little cottage homes. What is the secret ? Anyone who has lived in the Gaeltacht can give the answer. It is, that the old language, with the tradition and customs of the past still intact, produces a life that holds men or draws them back. Look into history and note that the racial exodus set in at the identical time that the language failed. The spiritual nexus snapped. People deracinated in mind quickly proved rootless in their bodies.

The insufficiency of Mr. Freeman's work, when he relies on book references instead of on field experience, is seen in his unsatisfactory chapters on the North. He does not appear to have seen, much less to have understood, the Braid Valley. That region, dominated by the hill where St. Patrick herded swine and became a great mystic, is land of moderate quality which industry has made intensely fertile and prosperous —you can smell the goodness in the air. Why should not all rural Ireland be as prosperous and populous as that good country ? Again, Mr. Freeman writes of the country around Dundalk, from paper sources, equally unsatisfactorily. He does not know, apparently, that the Cooley peninsula is a model of frugal well-being. The land is tilled to the very edge ; the grass is eaten down by tethered cattle ; green-manuring was practised here as a tradition long before scientific agriculturists discovered its merits ; sheep-rearing and afforestation make the marginal uplands profitable.

The village life is interlocked with industry in the town. There are no idlers, and no poor, in this industrious traditional region. Once again, why should not all Ireland be equally prosperous and populous, with the same variety of life and interest?

These are the questions that matter. The failure to bear them in mind, or to seek an answer is the cause of our failure, until just recently, to stem rural emigration and to secure our racial future.

VI

When we awake to the need to develop our whole natural potential and earnestly set about the task, we will find that a life as intensive as that of the Braid Valley, of Cooley, or of that Castleblayney district (in which Mr. Freeman found the land used for market gardening as well as for mixed farming with emigration slight)—that such a life can be developed on at least 12,000,000 acres in the Twenty-Six Counties, with a million acres of marginal land adding to the small holders' income. If this target were reached in another quarter of a century, the rural population of the Twenty-Six Counties would be at least half as large again as at present. Then it would have the social variety and content which are needed to root a people.

The most valuable passage in Mr. Freeman's book is that in which this extern critic brings his observations to a head with a verdict on our demographic condition which ought to be pasted on the desk of every statesman, every newspaper editor, every thinking man. Having reviewed our population history, he declares that today " there are fears of under-population, especially in some of the large farm areas, as a scarcity of labour is already felt by many farmers, particularly in the dairying districts". (It is a fact that farmers have been selling their milch cattle and reverting to grazing, in the Golden Vale, in recent years, through sheer inability to find workers in a region where depopulation has gone too far to be checked, unless by some master effort of patriotic reform). " Labour shortage is a new phenomenon in Ireland," our author continues, " and may indicate that too many people, or at least too many with certain types of skill, are leaving the country. It may therefore prove that the mid-twentieth century will be a time of labour shortage ; that its problems will be exactly opposite to those of the mid-nineteenth century ; and that the real need of the future will be so to limit emigration that the country's economic and social advance shall not be vitiated by the lack of sufficient people . . . ."

This is the issue knit for the Irish nation—to find life in the grand enterprise of repopulation or to let this ancient nation die with the Flag of the Republic as its winding sheet.

Aodh de Blacam

BACKGROUND AND PROGRESS OF POLITICAL ZIONISM

BY J. J. W. MURPHY, C.SS.R.

I. THE BACKGROUND

IN 1897 the Zionist Organisation was founded by Theodor Herzl, a Jewish journalist born at Vienna and resident in Paris. A modern Jewish writer, Mr. Albert M. Hyamson, says: "In Judaism as a religion he was little interested. Of Jewish culture he knew nothing. But he quickly became conscious of Judaism as a nationality. For this nationality he required a home. At first he was indifferent to the locale of this prospective home. But when the movement which he initiated brought him into contact with the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe and the Jewish students of Central European States he realised that, if his movement was to make any progress, it could do so only by means of the inspiration of Palestine".[1] To Theodor Herzl is due the formal beginning of Political Zionism as distinct from that Zionism which is older than the Christian era—as old as the Babylonian Captivity—and whose main inspiration was religious. To Chaim Weizmann, now the first President of Israel, is due its successful development.

Every sincere Jew must be a Zionist in the religious sense, that is he must hope for the restoration of Jerusalem as the Jewish centre of divine worship[2]. Jerusalem, called Zion from that part of the city associated with the Temple, means much more to Jews than Rome does to Catholics. If Rome were blotted out by atom bombs, the Pope could transfer his residence elsewhere and the life of the Church would go on as usual. The object of religious Zionism is not the mere possession of Jerusalem, as the capital of a Jewish state: it is the restoration of Jerusalem to the position that it held in the Jewish religion before the destruction of the last Temple in 70 A.D. With the Temple went the priesthood and the sacrificial worship of God. A rabbi is not a priest; there is no altar in a synagogue. Only in Jerusalem can priesthood and altar be lawfully restored. As the Samaritan woman said to Christ about His Jewish fellow-countrymen: "You say that Jerusalem is the place where men must adore." They still say so, because they have not accepted Christ's authority to make a change. They do not deny that in all places men may pray to God, but they believe that the solemn worship of God by His chosen people, as a people, must be in one place only and must wait until that place is their own again. Any attempt at restoring such worship elsewhere would be not only null and void—it would be sacrilegious.

[1] *Palestine under the Mandate* by Albert M. Hyamson (Methuen. 1950. 12s. 6d.) p. 15.

[2] This does not apply to "Reformed" Jews. It is significant that when they rejected Zionism they also rejected hope in the Messiah, thereby depriving their religion of its essential Jewishness.

It is worth noting that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, in 1897 a young student in Berlin, has recorded that Herzl's plan for a Jewish state, as set forth in his book *Der Judenstaat*, contained not a single idea that was new to him or to the Russian Jews, among whom Dr. Weizmann was born twenty-two years before its publication in 1896. But it was new to many Jews to whom religious Zionism was the most venerable thing that they had known. And not only was it new, but it was repugnant to them. Dr. Weizmann says that it " called down the resentment and derision of the Western Rabbis " (*Trial and Error*, p. 61). It was essentially different from traditional Zionism. Its inspiration was not the Jewish religion but the nineteenth-century nationalism, which in the decline of all religion throughout Europe gradually arrogated to itself the absolute values and claims of religion, till it produced in due course the national totalitarian state. The Eastern European Jews Leon Pinsker of Odessa and Nathan Birnbaum of Vienna, whom Dr. Weizmann claims to have been the predecessors of Herzl, had merely translated into the language of Zionism the contemporary Gentile ideas of nationalism and socialism which appealed with special force to the Russian Jews. They were poor and oppressed, suffering not only from the social injustices of nineteenth-century Russia but also from the hostility of its government and people, a hostility which passed occasionally from oppression to violent persecution. To the west of them in Germany the Jews were safe and prosperous. Dr. Weizmann describes the awe and envy with which in those days Russian Jews regarded the great German Jewish community, whose kindness towards their poor relations in Russia took the form of enabling them to emigrate by way of Germany to America, exchanging one exile for another. No wonder that Russian Jews dreamt of having a country of their own where they could establish a better social system than the one under which they groaned. Herzl's organisation would provide them with the means ; they had the ideas already.

Dr. Weizmann is generally reticent about religion, but it is evident that his Zionism had some difficulties with orthodox Jewry. He gives the impression of being one of those sincere anticlericals who are convinced that, for the good of religion, the clergy must be kept firmly in their places and that the laity are the best judges of what is good for religion. He tells how he and his friends were annoyed by Herzl's deference to the rabbis—" born not of intimacy but of distance. He saw something rather occult and mysterious in the Rabbis while he knew and evaluated them as individuals, good, bad or indifferent. His leaning towards clericalism distressed us . . . . " (op. cit. p. 63). Dr. Weizmann's ideal of truly religious people has a familiar flavour of the propaganda that would confine the clergy to the sacristy : " I have never feared really religious people. The genuine type has never been politically aggressive ; on the contrary he seeks no power, he is modest and retiring—and modesty was the great

feature in the lives of our saintly Rabbis and sages in olden times. It is the new secularized type of Rabbi, resembling somewhat a member of a clerical party in Germany, France or Belgium, who is the menace . . . . I foresee something which will perhaps be reminiscent of the *Kulturkampf* in Germany, but we must be firm if we are to survive." (op. cit. p. 569). Yet he speaks contemptuously of the " Challukah " Jews—the small remnant residing in Palestine—whose lives entirely devoted to religion came nearest to this ideal of harmless and unworldly piety : " Historically speaking they had been the expression of the undying Jewish attachment to Palestine, but in an age which was to witness the reconstruction of the Jewish Homeland they were a useless and even retarding element." (op. cit. p. 161).

These Jews are an important factor in the understanding of Zionism. For religious reasons Jews have always wanted to return to Palestine, if only to die there ; and for the past five hundred years they have been doing so. According to Mr. Hyamson (op. cit. p. 13) there were always some Jews in Palestine until the Crusader conquest in the eleventh century, when they were all massacred or driven into exile. In the fifteenth century they began to return. " Under the by no means unfriendly rule of the Moslem the Jewish community in Palestine, in common with the other dominions of the Turk, began to flourish and increase . . . An estimate of the Jewish population of Palestine in 1523 was less than four thousand, and this figure had little more than trebled by 1839. Palestine in those days had no attraction for the ambitious or the worldly. To the student and the religious pilgrim or devotee it offered almost everything he needed." It became a recognised work of piety for Jews all over the world to contribute alms for the support of those who went to live in Palestine for religious motives. " Peter's Pence, to a large extent the financial basis of the Vatican, has its counterpart in the tribute that flowed to Jerusalem under one name or another from the time of pre-Imperial Rome until our own day." (Hyamson, op. cit. p. 173). Hence the name " Challukah " or " Allotment " Jews because they lived mainly on money allotted for their support by charity. They had always been on friendly terms with the Arabs. They represented, not only as Dr. Weizmann says, the historic attachment of the Jews to Palestine, but something far deeper and more spiritual. For those Jews who gave money to support them, did so because they believed that they were worth supporting although they did nothing but pray and study the Torah. As we shall see, the Challukah Jews were firmly opposed to Political Zionism—partly for religious reasons, partly because it set Arab against Jew.

After Dr. Weizmann's first meeting with Herzl in 1898, he had the impression that Herzl was beginning at the wrong end by trying to get rich and influential Jews interested in Political Zionism without making sure of the interest of the Jewish masses. It would be among the masses

that he would have to look for citizens of his Jewish state. So Dr. Weizmann and his friends set to work on popular propaganda for which the ground had been already prepared by the writings of Asher Ginsberg, better known by his pen-name of " Achad Ha-am "—meaning " One of the People ". His interests were apparently in cultural rather than in political Zionism—but only apparently so. A cultural revival on nationalist lines would be the best preparation for the Jewish state. So the pattern, since become familiar all over the world, was followed : history was re-written from a nationalist standpoint ; poems, plays and stories were composed on national myths and popular legends ; old customs were revived and given a nationalist interpretation ; Hebrew, after being dead as a spoken language for two thousand years, was revived and, thanks to the immense labours of Eliezer ben Yehudah, was given a twentieth-century vocabulary. It is now the spoken language of a million Jews in Palestine. A special feature was the attribution of a quasi-sacramental value to agricultural work in Palestine.

It was not a new idea that Jews would be the better of exchanging their commercial pursuits, many of them petty and parasitical, for manual work on the land. James Finn, the first British consul in Jerusalem appointed by Lord Palmerston in 1839, " established ' Abraham's Vineyard ', then on the edge of Jerusalem, for the useful employment in horticulture and other occupations of the otherwise inevitably idle Jews ". (Hyamson, op. cit. p. 10). About the same time there was an English Protestant Society for the Promotion of Jewish Agricultural Labour in the Holy Land. Some Jewish philanthropists, Sir Moses Montefiore and after him Baron Maurice de Hirsch and Baron Edmond de Rothschild, had founded agricultural settlements in Palestine long before the Zionist Organization. But the Political Zionists had a different inspiration. Their agricultural settlements were to be bridgeheads for the re-conquest of Palestine and nuclei of a socialist state. A number of them were on a communal basis ; others were on a cooperative basis. The communal have been hailed by progressive circles all over the world as successful experiments in Communism. So they are ; but they have achieved their success at the cost of complete sacrifice of family life, the most precious characteristic of traditional Jewishness. The Marriage ceremony consisted in applying to move into a double-room ; divorce consisted in giving it up and going back to a single room or dormitory. Admirers of these communal settlements, or *kvutzoth* (the better-known name *kibbutz* means a group of these kvutzoth), have indignantly denied charges of sexual promiscuity brought against their members. It all depends on one's idea of what constitutes sexual promiscuity. Recent reports indicate that religious marriages, which were always optional though *kvutzah* feeling was against them, are becoming popular and that the rule of separating children from parents is being relaxed, so that parents can

have a little more time with their children than the short space between the end of both parents' working-day and the hour for bed-time in the communal nursery. It will be interesting to see whether this insertion of the thin end of the wedge will go farther and send the *kibbutz* to the scrap-heap of so many past experiments in Communism.

Dr. Weizmann protests against people who have never been inside a *kvutzah* " or, what was worse, had been inside one for half an hour " accusing their members of atheism, immorality and Bolshevism. (op. cit. p. 370). There is no need to visit a *kvutzah* in order to find out the facts that I have just given : they are in every standard work on the subject—for instance Dr. Henrik F. Infield, an enthusiastic admirer, gives them in his book *Co-operative Living in Palestine* published by Kegan Paul in 1946. As for atheism, a man can tell you in half a minute that he is an atheist, and—in my experience at least—the majority of *kibbutz* members had no hesitation in doing so. They might read the Bible ; but it was as Jewish history that they read it, not as a history of God's dealings with man. God was easily explained away as a tribal deity, or as the psychological projection of the Jewish people's collective conscience, or by whatever other pseudo-scientific explanation happened to be fashionable. The " justice " of the Bible was interpreted as social justice, a relationship between man and man instead of between man and God.

In speaking of the communal settlements I have gone ahead of events ; for these settlements did not develop in the pre-1918 period with which I am now concerned. But their seed was certainly sown then in the minds of Jewish boys and girls by teachers and parents who had read " Achad Ha-am ". That seed can be judged by the plant that grew from it. Progress was slow during those twenty years. In spite of all efforts the total number of Jews in agricultural settlements in Palestine did not exceed 12,000 out of a Jewish population of some 90,000, and these included the older settlements founded before the Zionist Organisation. It took a lot of persuasion to get European Jews to exchange even life under the Czar in Russia for life in Palestine under Turkish rule. Hitherto religion had been the most effective inducement and nationalism had not yet acquired the force of religion. But it was gathering strength.

In the spring of 1903 began the Russian " pogroms ", which was the name for riots organised with the connivance of the government against Jews and others suspected of revolutionary tendencies. The first was in the town of Kishinev where forty-five Jews were killed and over a thousand wounded and fifteen hundred houses looted and wrecked. Other pogroms followed. The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Landsdowne, promptly offered Herzl a large area in British East Africa for Jewish colonization with local autonomy. Mr. Hyamson says it was in Kenya ; Dr. Weizmann says in Uganda. The difference may be due to the fact that the territories were then undemarcated ; but it is not important, for the subsequent

history of both shows that they could be developed and prosper. Herzl and almost all the Western European Jews welcomed the offer; but the Eastern European Jews rejected it, although every consideration for the safety of themselves and of their neighbours made its acceptance urgent. Dr. Weizmann, who was vehemently against it although his own father and brother were for it, says plainly that his party would not consider even a temporary diversion of Zionist effort to any place outside of Palestine because "the deflection of our energies to a purely relief effort would mean, whatever Herzl's intentions were, the practical dismantling of the Zionist Organisation so far as it had to do with Zion." (op. cit. p. 111). It is important to note that the reason for this ruthlessness had nothing to do with religion. The *Mizrachi*, the party of orthodox religious Jews within the Zionist Organisation, voted with those in favour of accepting the East African proposal, but they were too few to save it. Here we have one indication of how little humanitarian issues really counted with political Zionists. We shall meet some more. Yet it is on humanitarian grounds that they have always most successfully appealed to the conscience of the Christian world. Herzl did not survive his defeat for long. He died in the following year, aged forty-four.

People who like to find parallels in history may see resemblances between Irish and Jewish affairs in the twenty years preceding the end of the first World War. In Ireland it was the time of Sinn Fein and the Gaelic League whose emphasis, like that of Achad Ha-am and his circle, was on cultural rather than on political activities. The ideal of a sovereign independent state, Irish or Jewish, seemed then impracticable to the majority, and to many it also seemed undesirable. Cultural activity of a nationalist character satisfied the patriotism of many who did not want to commit themselves to any political programme. Others, whose real interests were political and whose ultimate aim was a sovereign independent state, saw in this cultural activity a means of propagating nationalist ideas. Herzl and his circle, like the old Irish Parliamentary Party, were primarily politicians whose political programme fell short of the full nationalist demand. It is interesting to find Dr. Weizmann making the same criticism of them as was made of John Redmond and his party, that they were too much influenced by surroundings alien to the mass of the people whom they represented: "We did not like the note of elegance and pseudo-worldliness which characterised official Zionism, the dress suits and frock coats and fashionable dresses"—with the afterthought: "Actually it was all very modest, but to us it smacked of artificiality, extravagance and the *haut monde*." (op. cit. p. 72). There was even a parallel to the controversy about compulsory Irish in the new National University, when shortly before the first World War "a bitter and significant struggle was waged about the second of our higher institutions of learning in Palestine, the Haifa *Technikum*, between the Zionists and the leaders of German Jewry"

(*Trial and Error*, p. 182) as to whether German or Hebrew was to be the language of instruction. Hebrew won after a hard fight. Very soon the World War came to transform the entire setting of Irish and Jewish affairs. One of its by-products was the Irish Free State. Another was the Jewish National Home. Both date from 1922.

II. PROGRESS OF POLITICAL ZIONISM

The issue of the Balfour Declaration on 2 November 1917 marks the beginning of definite political progress towards a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine. According to Lloyd George it was a bid for Jewish support in the 1914-18 war. According to both Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Hyamson it was also the expression of traditional British interest in the Jewish problem. According to most of the evidence available it was all that and also the result of ignorance about the real issues involved—the ignorance of a self-educated Welshman, David Lloyd George, and of a philosophically-inclined Scotsman, Arthur James Balfour, neither of whom had ever seen Palestine. The most influential Jews in England, who did know what issues were involved and who had taken the measure of political Zionism, protested strongly against it—much to the annoyance of Dr. Weizmann who had transferred himself to England ten years before the war and had become *persona grata* with C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian*, who put him in touch with Lloyd George. Balfour he had met two years after his arrival and had explained to him the political aims of Zionism.

It was the protests of the English Jews, led by the Right Hon. Edwin Montagu, M.P. a Jewish member of the Government and Secretary of State for India, that woke up the Cabinet to some of the real issues, including the fact that there was in Palestine a native Arab population outnumbering the Jewish population by ten to one, whose rights would have to be safeguarded. So the final form of the Declaration, after stating that " His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment *in* Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object ", added this important reservation in favour of the Arabs : " *it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine*".

I have italicised these words because they are so little known to have been part of the Declaration, all the publicity having been concentrated on the preceding clause about the Jewish National Home. Even in that clause a vital word is usually ignored—the word " in ". That word I have also italicised because it was deliberately chosen, as afterwards explained by Winston Churchill to Jews and Arabs, in order to preclude

any Jewish claim to *the whole of Palestine* for the National Home—they could only have as much of Palestine as would not " prejudice the civil and religious rights " of the natives, just as the Vatican State does not prejudice the sovereign rights of the Italian people. These reservations came as an unpleasant shock to Dr. Weizmann, but he had to accept them. His last-minute efforts to get them changed and his outspoken annoyance with those responsible for them make it plain that he knew what they meant and that they were no empty threat to the aims of Political Zionism.

The League of Nations Council on 24 July 1922 approved a Mandate for Palestine embodying these two clauses of the Balfour Declaration in its preamble and, in *Article 2*, laying down the additional obligation that the Mandatory Power should so administer Palestine as to fit it for self-government in due course. The King-Crane Commission, sent in 1919 by President Wilson to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants, reported that the Palestinian natives' first preference as Mandatory would be the United States, their second preference Britain. The United States would not accept the Mandate, but for the twenty five years of the Mandate's duration gave much advice from a safe distance as to how it should be carried out. The British Government accepted the Mandate after a debate in Parliament, in which the Commons voted for the Mandate and the Lords voted against it on the ground that " the Mandate was such that under it we could not reconcile our obligations to both the Arabs and the Jews " (See *Hansard*, 20 January 1946). Time was to show that the Lords were right; but in 1922 honest men could reasonably hope for better results.

The Political Zionists frequently spoke with two voices, but always with a single mind which was firmly made up to achieve a Jewish sovereign state in Palestine by filling it with enough Jews to reduce the Arab majority to a minority. The Zionist Organisation issued a statement accepting the principle of the Balfour Declaration that the National Home must not prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arabs while, about the same time, Dr. Weizmann was explaining to Mr. Lansing, the American Secretary of State, that a Jewish National Home meant " that by Jewish immigration Palestine would ultimately become as Jewish as England is English ". (op. cit. p. 305). Winston Churchill, on behalf of the British Government, took up those words and expressly denied that such was British policy. The Zionist Organisation, of which Dr. Weizmann was President, declared its acceptance of Churchill's statement of policy. This double-dealing remained the pattern of Political Zionism in all its dealings with the British and the Arabs. They never were able to deceive the Arabs, except perhaps for the first year after the war when Dr. Weizmann persuaded Feisal, the Arab representative at the Versailles Peace Conference, to welcome the Jews to Palestine. They seldom deceived for long British officials on the spot in Palestine, although there were

some notable exceptions. But they were remarkably successful, almost to the very end of the Mandate, in getting British Governments at home to accept their statements at face value—or rather to accept statements made to Britain as sincere and to ignore contradictory statements made to others as economies of the truth excusable under stress of circumstances. Here is the explanation why Dr. Weizmann and his friends " had to face the hostility, or at best the frosty neutrality, of Britain's representatives on the spot," even when the Home Government was most friendly and enthusiastic (op. cit. p. 322). The men on the spot knew that, no matter what the Political Zionists said, they were determined to ignore the rights of the native Arabs : the Home Government, on the other hand, believed the promises of the Zionist Organisation to respect those rights.

Immigration was the crucial issue. The Arabs believed from the start that the Zionist Organisation's plan was first to swamp them with Jewish immigrants and then to demand self-government from the Mandatory, which would thus mean self-government for a state with a Jewish majority. So the Arabs set out to make the Mandatory Government of Palestine do two things : (a) limit immigration, (b) give Palestine self-government before the Jews could have a majority. The Zionist Organisation took the opposite line and pressed the Government for more and more immigration facilities, while refusing to cooperate in any scheme for self-government till sure of their Jewish majority. These were the two essential factors of the Palestine situation from start to finish.

The Arab political agitation passed quickly into violence and bloodshed in 1920 and again in 1921. The Jews blamed the British Government for lack of energetic measures of prevention and repression. Order was restored more by policy than by force and by the fortunate drop in Jewish immigration caused by the economic depression of the twenties. During this lull the Palestine Mandatory Government prepared a preliminary scheme of self-government. A Municipal Franchise law was passed and municipal elections were held in 1927. Unfortunately a religious quarrel in September 1928 over Jewish rights at the Wailing Wall led to political unrest and agitation, which next year broke out into violence in which some hundreds of Jews and Arabs were killed or badly injured. As before, the Mandatory Power was blamed for failing to maintain law and order, and this time not only the Jews but the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations joined in censuring Britain.

By accepting the Mandate Britain had surrendered its claim in international law to rule Palestine by right of having conquered it from Turkey. Its legal right to rule was thenceforth dependent on the League of Nations within the terms of the Mandate. The British Government ruled Palestine through a British High Commissioner assisted by an Advisory Council of ten British and ten Palestinians, four of whom were Muslim Arabs, three were Christian Arabs and three were Jews—all

nominated by the High Commissioner. An attempt to put the Advisory Council on an elective basis was frustrated by an Arab boycott, and eventually Arab political pressure forced their own members to resign. Since 1923 the Advisory Council was composed of British officials only.

The League of Nations could not directly interfere in the government of Palestine, but the High Commissioner had to give an account of his stewardship to its Permanent Mandates Commission, to which Jews and Arabs frequently brought complaints against his rule—usually for contradictory reasons. One complaint is of special interest. It came from the religious Jewish body called *Agudath Israel*, who hated political Zionism and blamed it for destroying the former peaceful relations between Jew and Arab. These Jews claimed to represent 20 per cent. of the Jews in Palestine, including of course the old Challukah Jews. They had been refused official recognition as a separate religious community distinct from the rest of the Palestinian Jews, most of whom were political Zionists, and they appealed in vain to the Permanent Mandates Commission against the High Commissioner's refusal. But they succeeded in remaining independent of the Jewish representative body, the *Vaad Leumi*, through which the Government dealt with the rest of the Jewish community. They now form one of the numerous parties in the new state of Israel and, at the time of writing, are part of the religious bloc which polled only 12 per cent. of the votes in the last elections, but which, in the fantastic multiplication of splinter parties characteristic of Jewish politics, has managed to get three seats in the Israel Cabinet.

Jewish immigration, after its temporary decline in the late twenties, steadily rose again and in 1933, the first year of the Nazi regime, the figure of 1932 was trebled. The Arabs' fear of being swamped became acute: there were minor disturbances in 1930 and 1931 in which Jews were murdered, and a serious out-break, the first that was definitely anti-British, in 1933. The Arabs had decided that Britain had gone over to Political Zionism, although the Political Zionists were still filling the ears of the Permanent Mandates Commission with complaints about "the hostility, or at best the frosty neutrality, of Britain's representatives on the spot", which so worried Dr. Weizmann. "The cause of this seems to have been despair in face of what the Arabs regarded as the entrenched Jewish influence in London, of which they saw evidence in the White Paper controversy and in the MacDonald letter of 1931". (*Great Britain and Palestine*, p. 85, issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs). An account of the Passfield White Paper and the MacDonald letter is given, from different view-points, by Dr. Weizmann in chapter 29 and by Mr. Hyamson in chapter 10 of the books from which I have quoted. Both are worth more study than I have space for. The Arabs had some reason for despairing of London.

After a few troubled weeks 1933 ended quietly. Jewish immigration

continued to rise till it reached the record figure of 61,854 bringing the total Jewish population to nearly half a million in 1935. In that year the Government produced another scheme for self-government, a Legislative Council with an elected majority to replace the nominated Advisory Council and to lead in due course to full parliamentary government and an independent Palestinian state. It was rejected at once by the Jews because it went too far, and by the Arabs, after some hesitation, because it did not go far enough. In April 1936 Arab strikes and riots began and gradually developed into civil war, which lasted till the end of 1938. The official casualties for that year included 69 British, 92 Jews, 486 Arab civilians and 1,138 armed Arab irregulars killed. There were about 2,000 injured in roughly the same proportions.

During the 1939-45 World War there was peace in Palestine. Both Jews and Arabs apparently decided that the British devil, whom they knew well, was probably better than the Nazi or Fascist devils, whose closer acquaintance they did not wish to make. After the Axis defeat in 1945 the Jews started a terrorist campaign to force unlimited Jewish immigration on the Government and thus swamp the Arab majority completely and finally, after which they would demand full self-government and independence. This campaign went on for three years, mainly on " underground " lines, without success : the Government saw no reason why the allowance of immigration granted to save the Jews from the Nazis should be increased after the Nazi regime had collapsed. The anguish of political Zionism over the fate of the German Jews seems usually to have been well under political control. Mr. Hyamson records the amazing fact that " of the 14,300 certificates available in 1934 only a quarter were distributed in Germany and not all of these to Germans " (op. cit. p. 69). These certificates were the foreign Jews' legal title to enter Palestine and their distribution was in the hands of the Zionist Organisation. About the same time the British Government offered an autonomous Jewish settlement in British Guiana as a refuge from the Nazi persecution, as it had offered one in East Africa in 1903 to save Jews from the Russian pogroms. This offer too was rejected. Yet a most successful slogan of Political Zionism, especially in America, was that six million Jews were " murdered by Hitler and the British White Paper " !

No wonder that the British, weary of trying to reconcile their obligations to Jews and Arabs, decided to give up the hopeless task. On 14 May 1948 Britain surrendered the Palestine Mandate to United Nations Organisation, the successor of the League of Nations. The House of Lords had been right. That day the Jewish state of Israel was proclaimed and next day Palestine was invaded by the neighbouring Arab states. But they were disunited, and so one after another Israel defeated them all, except Transjordan whose army occupies about a quarter of Palestine. This quarter contains Bethlehem and the Old City of Jerusalem in which

are all the Holy Places connected with our Lord's Passion and Death. The Jews have the modern New City adjoining it to the west and the traditional site of the Upper Room or Cenacle just outside the Old City wall. The Egyptians hold a few miles of Palestine around Gaza, out of which they would certainly have been thrown if United Nations had not imposed a truce on all parties—which, after some breaches by both sides, settled into an uneasy armistice about a year ago. There is still no peace treaty. As for the Holy Places, Israel and Transjordan[3] would probably agree to have them put individually under an international régime provided that Jerusalem as a whole is not internationalised, but neither of them will give up what they hold of Jerusalem, old or new, except under severe compulsion.

Very few Arabs are left in Israel. Some 500,000, or about five-sixths of those Arabs who lived there, fled in terror of the Jewish extremists to the neighbouring Arab states or to the part of Palestine still held by Arab armies, where their condition is pitiable. A few have been allowed to return, but the Jews have taken their lands and homes for the new Jewish immigrants who are pouring into Israel; so there is little left for them to go back to. And so they live from day to day in exile—subsisting on such charity as Arabs almost as poor as themselves can give and on what comes from such Christian sources as the *Holy Land Arab Refugees Fund* in Europe and the *Catholic Near East Welfare Association* in America.

J. J. W. Murphy

[3] Now the "Kingdom of Jordan" since 24 April 1950 when King Abdullah formally annexed what he held of Palestine.

JONAS OF BOBBIO
BIOGRAPHER OF ST. COLUMBAN

BY SENATOR HELENA CONCANNON, M.A., D.LITT.

SOME time in A.D. 618, three years after the toilsome *peregrinatio* of St. Columban (its fruitful furrow traced across the war wasted lands of Europe) had come to an end in the rest of an Appenine grave, a young Italian lad named Jonas from Segusio (mod. Susa) left its pleasant orchards and chestnut groves and pasture lands, at the foot of Mount Cenis, to seek admittance from Abbot Athala to the little monastery near the junction of the Bobbio and the Trebbia which was our great countryman's last foundation. We Irish have reason to remember with gratitude that young lad ; for it is to the *Vitae Columbani Abbatis et Discipulorum Ejus* of Jonas that we owe nearly all our knowledge of the illustrious Irishman to whom, after long forgetfulness, we have recently sent prelates and scholars and statesmen to join with the other nations of Europe at Luxeuil in a tribute of grateful homage.

Though the monastery (founded in 614) was only about four years in existence (and St. Columban himself had been spared only long enough to rebuild the ruined basilica of St. Peter on its site), it was under Abbot Athala's vigorous rule already flourishing. How quickly they got things going, those Columbanian monks who had come there only yesterday, perfect strangers, with no money and only the most primitive instruments ! Here (as we can infer from various references by Jonas) not only was the ruined sanctuary repaired and resounding with the Masses and psalmody of the monks, but the wild fields were being brought into production under the plough of Brother Fraimeris[1] and the little mill on the Bobbio, the special care of Brother Agibodus, was functioning busily.[2] And there was a school able to turn out a pupil like Jonas himself, whose writings show not only a close study of the Scriptures and the Lives of the Saints but a knowledge unusual for the period of the Latin classics. We find him quoting Livy's historical works ; Pliny's Natural History ; Virgil's Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid ; Juvencus's Paraphrase of the Gospels and Silius's Epic of the Punic War. It may have taken some time more to gather all these into the monastery *scriptorium* and add them to Columban's own writings, but the school must have been excellent from the beginning to give Jonas the training and knowledge his works—and methods—show.

The young monk from Segusio, proving himself an apt scholar, was chosen by Abbot Athala as his secretary and confidential attendant. In this way he was in a position not only to bear personal evidence in regard

[1] Vita Col. II. 3 [2] V. Col. II. 2.

to several miraculous happenings which blessed the Abbot's toils, but to gather from his lips many of the facts concerning St. Columban which he was to incorporate later in his own *magnum opus*.

Jonas had been about nine years in the Abbey when, on a bitterly cold February day of 627, the Abbot suddenly bade him take two very trustworthy companions, Bidulph a priest and Hermeneoald a deacon and set off for Segusio to visit his family.[3] Now Jonas had often asked leave to give his parents this consolation, but had always been refused. This time he would have liked to defer the long journey to a more favourable season. But the Abbot was insistent: "You must go at once, for who knows whether you will have the opportunity again." So the three set off together; and doubtless, on the long trek, they talked not only of the Abbot's strange insistence but of various objectives with which he had specially concerned himself of late. He had seen to the strengthening of the monastery *vallum* or enclosure, and the repair of the roofs. Draught horses had been broken in for the brethren, the books in the library rebound, furniture and clothing mended, new shoes made for the community. In a word it seemed as if he were going away and wanted to leave everything in perfect order. It was only later they knew that the saintly Abbot had learned in a vision he was "to prepare for a journey" —which proved to be along "the way of his fathers" through the portals of death.[4]

Great was the joy of the mother of Jonas when she welcomed the son she had not seen for nearly a decade. But her joy was not to be of long duration. That very night Jonas was taken ill with a violent fever, and in his delirium he cried out that Athala was calling for him and that, if he could not get back to Bobbio at once, he himself would die. Sadly the mother gave in to him: "It were better to know thee alive there than bewail thee dead here." So at daybreak the tired travellers set out once more. What a journey that must have been for during three days Jonas could eat nothing. Then quite suddenly, when they were about half way, the fever left him, and the remainder of the road was quickly covered. When they reached the monastery they found Athala at death's door, and knew his prayers had brought them home to take a last farewell of their beloved Abbot before he died.

Bertulf, the successor of Athala, retained Jonas as his minister and in this capacity brought him with him to Rome, where they were most cordially received by Pope Honorius I.[5] Every day, we learn from Jonas, his Holiness sent for the Abbot of Bobbio and put many questions to him concerning the life led by the monks in their mountain retreat and their efforts to combat Arianism. He was greatly pleased too to hear all this and encouraged them to persevere. Then, as the great heats made a longer sojourn in Rome unhealthy, His Holiness granted Bertulf the

[3] V. Col. II. 5. [4] *V. Col.* II. 5. [5] *V. Col.* II. 23.

privilege he had come to the Eternal City to seek, and by a Bull (dated 11 June 628) exempted the Monastery of Bobbio from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Tortona and made it immediately subject to the See of Rome.

On the return journey Bertulf, who had been unwell in Rome, was attacked by a fever which brought him to death's door. On the Eve of SS. Peter and Paul the travellers encamped for the night near the ruined *castrum* of Bismantum near Modena, while Jonas watched by the sick Abbot. " I tried to keep awake," he tells us, " but such a heaviness came over me that I could not hold my head up, and this was true of the others in charge of the horses and the baggage." Then to the sleeping camp came the Prince of the Apostles himself, to bid the Abbot rise up in health once more and return to his community. Thus did St. Peter seem to acknowledge his debt to those who had at Bobbio restored his ruined basilica and were ever ready to show themselves stout defenders of the Roman jurisdiction.

The relations between Bobbio and Luxeuil were always very cordial, and there was between them a frequent exchange of monks.[6] Indeed Bertulf himself had been a monk in Luxeuil, and had come to Bobbio with Abbot Athala after a visit of the latter to the Burgundian monastery. Shortly after his return from Rome he decided to send Jonas to Luxeuil, where he spent sufficient time, before Abbot Eusthasius's death, to gather many reminiscences of St. Columban from those faithful lips.

In the library of Bobbio, among its most cherished volumes, were many Lives of Saints : *Life* of St. Antony by Athanasius, *Lives* of SS. Paul and Hilarion by St. Jerome, *Life* of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus, *Life* of St. Hilary by Fortunatus, *Life* of St. Ambrose by Paulinus of Milan, *Life* of St. Augustine by Possidius ; and these had long been the favourite reading of Jonas. As he pored over them, the desire grew in him and was fostered by Abbot Bertulf and the Brethren to weave the deeds and miracles of their own saintly founder into a narrative such as these, which would promote the glory of God and the honour of the Columbanian monasteries. It was almost certainly to gather materials for this projected work that Abbot Bertulf sent Jonas to Luxeuil to learn from Eusthasius at first hand all he had to communicate before his death. This took place on 2 April 629 and Jonas had the privilege of assisting at it.

Ten years were to elapse before Jonas returned to Bobbio (639), but during these ten years he had never lost sight of his great desire ; many a toilsome journey he made and many an old disciple of St. Columban he interviewed to note down on his tablets what they had to tell about the Master. On his journey from Bobbio to Luxeuil (which he made over the Rhaetian Septimerberg) he visited St. Gall in his little settlement

[6] *V. Col.* II. 23.

on the Steinach ; and he must have often repeated the visit, for in recounting the great draught of fishes Gall's obedience had landed from the Breuchin, he adds : " Haec nobis supradictus Gallus *saepe* narravit." It was probably from Gall he obtained the rather scanty information his book gives us on the Irish part of St. Columban's story, which perhaps his own want of interest prevented from being more copious and satisfying. From an old monk in Luxeuil (who could show him the mark of the scythe on the once severed finger Columban had miraculously restored) he noted down the moving story of the younger Columban's death, one of loveliest in the whole book. He learned much from Bishop Donat of Besancon and Bishop Chagnoald of Laon, both of whom were " old boys " of the Luxeuil school and special favourites of its founder. He seems to have travelled to Armorica to interview, in his monastery at Coutances, Potentin and learn from him a first hand account of Columban's journey to Nantes. Among the clergy of Mainz there were many to remember and tell him of the Saint's encounter with Bishop Leonisius. While on his frequent visits to Saint Burgundofara's monastery at Evoriacas (where he often acted as chaplain) he heard all about Columban's visit to her father's ' Villa ' near Meaux and the dramatic story of her own vocation.

Jonas seems to have had a great affection for this community, and some of the most touching chapters in the second part of the *Vita* deal with the holy lives and happy deaths (at which he assisted) of the young Sisters and their innocent little pupils. One of these stories has a special interest for us, as it shows how faithfully St. Burgundofara and her daughters followed the Irish " use ", which St. Columban had brought from Bangor. We learn, for instance, that the beautiful Irish Eucharistic hymn the *Sancti Venite* (pronounced by Father Thurston " the oldest existing Eucharistic hymn in Europe ") was sung in Evoriacas while the community were approaching the altar for Holy Communion. So lovely seemed that hymn to the old Gaels, our ancestors, that they believed angels first composed it and that it was from an angelic choir that Saints Patrick and Secundinus had first heard and learned it. It begins (an undying testimony to the Eucharistic doctrine of the ancient Irish Church) :

> " Sancti venite—Christi Corpus sumite—Sanctum bibentes
> Quo redempti Sanguinem ".

Jonas's reference to the hymn occurs in the twelfth chapter of *Pars Secunda* of the *Vitae* : " On a certain Sunday, when the aforesaid Burgundofara and her community were assisting at the solemn mysteries of the Mass and were already partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, it happened that a certain Sister Domna, having received Holy Communion, was returning to her place in the choir and was singing with her companions : ' Hoc Sacrum Corpus Domini et Salvatoris Sanguinem

sumite vobis in vitam perennem'. Suddenly her face and brow were illumined by a soft radiance seeming to come from a globe of white flame. Two tiny children present, immaculate in their childish innocence, saw the light radiating from the countenance of the said Domna, while she sang melodiously the Communion hymn. Unable to restrain themselves they cried out: 'Look, look, at the globe of flame shining over the forehead of Sister Domna'. Fearing lest vain glory might spoil the favoured one, Mother Burgundofara bade them be silent".

The story goes on to tell that poor Domna, after being thus singled out, did yield to the sin of spiritual pride. And so it came to pass that the great favour meant for her was given instead to the little girls. Both of them fell ill and were soon at death's door. Their companions were gathered around them, as the custom was, to speed their departing souls with the psalms sung on such occasions. Then all at once the bystanders perceived a marvellous fragrance filling the cell, and they heard from the lips of the dying girls wonderful songs set to melodies such as only angels sing and prayers and invocations so touching that the like was never heard before. And this continued until None of the following day. Then the dying children asked the Mother herself to sing and said they were about to depart. And lo, as their innocent souls quitted the earth, the paradisial fragrance faded with them.

In 639 Jonas was back in Bobbio warmly welcomed by Abbot Bertulf and the brethren, who were deeply interested in all he had gathered for his promised work on their great founder and very anxious to see him started on it. It was a very happy as well as a very holy community he found there; for the Abbot was a great manager as well as a great saint. Among other improvements he had developed the cultivation of the vine, and Jonas has pleasant stories, with a Franciscan flavour, of the meal Brother Baudachair prepared for the thirty brethren who had come out to help him with the *vendemmia*, of how Brother Leubard dealt with the fox he found raiding his grapes, and of the wall he and Brother Meroveus built against such depredations.[7]

Bertulf died in 640, just a year after Jonas returned to Bobbio and before he could get started on the writing of his book. Indeed three years more were to elapse before he could settle down to it. For in the meantime Bishop Amandus, the Apostle of the Belgians, had enlisted his help for his missions; and for the next three years the life of Jonas was that of an active missionary 'in the field'. In the arduous journeys it involved (very often by water in rough canoes hollowed out of ash trees) there was little opportunity for literary effort. But his fame as a writer had gone abroad and on one occasion, as he journeyed up the Scarpe and stopped at Arras for a rest, he was invited by the Bishop and clergy of that city to write the Life of their patron, St. Vedastes, and he stayed long enough with them to do it.

[7] *V. Col.* II. 23.

From time to time Jonas would go back to St. Burgundofara at Evoriacas; and there is reason to believe that it was in that quiet and holy spot, so fragrant with paradisial airs, that a great part of his *Vita Columbani* was written. Burgundofara, herself and her two Bishop brothers, Chegnoald of Laon and Faron of Meaux, had much to tell him from their personal recollections of St. Columban.

The last authentic notice we have of Jonas is dated 659 and is contained in the introduction to his *Life* of St. John of Reomaus. How this *Life* came to be written throws light on the eminence its author (now called "Abbot") had attained, for it discloses him in the character of an agent for royalty. In November 659 Clothair III and his mother, Queen Bathildir, sent him on some business of state to Châlons-sur-Saone. The fatigues of the journey forced him to rest at the monastery of St. John near Semur-en-Auxois, whose Abbot, Chunna, was a former pupil of Luxeuil. At his request Jonas wrote a *Life* of their founder St. John of Reomaus, the latter part of which is historically valuable as giving an account of King Theudebert's expedition into Italy in 539 and of the great plague which ravaged Gaul in 543. Jonas himself was alive in 665, but after that we lose trace of him; and the date and place of his death have not yet been discovered.

But though his earthly life seems to have ended in silence and obscurity, Jonas lives on in his *Vitae Columbani Abbatis et Discipulorum ejus*, which ranks, after the Chronicle of Fredegar, as the most important historical document of the seventh century. How vividly he comes before us, in his eager personality, while we read the Introductory Letter with which he prefaces his book! He has divided his work into two parts: "The first gives a brief account of the blessed Columban; the second treats of his disciples Athala and Eusthasius, and others whom we ourselves have known". His knowledge of Columban derives from the most authentic sources: "Very many of those with whom Columban had lived and who were witnesses of the deeds done by him are still alive. These have told us not only what they have heard from others, but above all what they themselves had seen. Much too was communicated to us by the venerable fathers Athala and Eusthasius, the predecessors of Bobolenus and Waldabert in the monasteries of Bobbio and Luxeuil. If I praise any one who is still among the living do not on this account look upon me as a flatterer, but as a narrator of good deeds, and believe me, whatever words of eulogy I have written have not been written to curry favour with any one, but solely to hand down to posterity actions worthy of record. We have set down what we have heard from reliable witnesses; what was no longer present to our minds we have omitted altogether".

With delicate thoughtfulness Jonas dedicated his work to the two reigning Abbots of Columban's chief foundations, Waldabert of Luxeuil and Bobolenus of Bobbio; and so Luxeuil and Bobbio have both a part in its reflected glory.

HELENA CONCANNON

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ERNE AGREEMENT

BY JAMES L. O'DONOVAN, M.SC.

I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

BOUNDARY waters, used from time immemorial to define the limits of one State on the one hand and of another State at the far bank on the other hand, have tended to become causes of friction or even strife, according as the interests served by such waterways became more complex and of increasingly greater moment to the States concerned. These interests carry very different values, so that no easy or standard method of formulation can be found to solve the problems involved. In all instances of negotiations successfully terminated the basis has been a practical recognition of the spirit of " give and take " and it has been common experience, increasingly demonstrated, that the reconciliation of the conflicting interests of riparian States for their mutual benefit rests firmly on agreement, not on duress or coercion, and upon the practice of joint self-limitation of sovereign ownership.

Next to satisfying human physical needs, the earliest and most universal interest associated with common boundary waters is navigation. The needs of navigation were satisfied as far as the riparian States were concerned if they had free access to waters common to each. But gradually different values operated in the case of one State which might feel aggrieved whilst another derived some unshared benefit. The waters themselves assumed different values and were subject to varying conditions. The volume of water itself underwent change according as periods of drought or flood occurred. The level changed and thus the riparian contour might be altered. If the waters were regarded as a kind of neutral area or " no man's land ", the mid-point under certain conditions might vary and be nearer the normal channel of navigation than under other conditions. The real boundary between the riparian States, even if it must be built on these shifting and indeed fluid foundations, had therefore to be defined. If the river were not navigable, the median line—*i.e.* an imaginary line running intermediately down the mass of water and plotted along points equidistant between the two banks—became the obvious line of demarcation between the two States. The waters were still common to both, but a special sphere of prior interest attached for each State to the mass of water on the near side of such median line.

But if the river were navigable, entirely new conditions supervened. A division based on considerations of mere superficial areas would not satisfy the need. A new line had to devised which would divide the mass of water into two at the continuous points of greatest depth and greatest current flow, really the navigation channel itself. Such complications arise in the simple sphere of navigation. These then are extended to the other principal uses with which the waterway of common interest became invested. Such are: the use of the waters for drinking, domestic and sanitary purposes; for irrigation, drainage, agriculture and stock-raising; for flotation of timber; for fisheries; for industrial uses, with obligations to avoid pollution; for dredged gravel and sand for road-making and building aggregates; as attraction to tourists etc. It will be noted that there is no attempt at formulating an order of priorities. The value of the river to each State in respect of its various uses is as variable and indeterminate as the whole problem is complex. Clearly, although it is navigable the primary concern of the Nile is with irrigation, of the Rhine with navigation, of the Thames perhaps with industrial use, not to speak of drinking water, and so on. Each river has its own individuality, and no study of or agreement about an international waterway can be of value that does not take fullest cognizance of its geo-political character.

When considering above a waterway of common interest, our observations were confined mainly to *contiguous* waterways, *i.e.* such as serve as a frontier between two countries; but where a waterway is *successive*, *i.e.* crosses the frontier between two or more countries, the problem is raised to one of vastly greater complexity, and it is at this point that we consider the subject of hydro-electric development.

Before, we had a relatively simple relationship, on a parity or "on all fours" so to speak. Now we are introduced to an upstream-downstream relationship of great complexity, where the actions of the upstream State if wholly independent, self-interested and without regard at all to the wishes or interests of the downstream State, or *vice versa*, can induce such conditions, such losses and injuries, as may be to the absolute detriment of the other State or States. It might well provide a *casus belli* unless mutual agreement is reached or an acceptable court of arbitration found. Thus, quoting, "the hydro-electric development of a waterway of common interest by a country, in so far as it alters the physical characteristics of the waterway, is likely to be detrimental to the interests of another State situated within the zone of influence" [1]

The detailed work of reaching agreement in all the different cases studied can be appreciated by mentioning a few of the types of agreement

[1] [The references will be found at the end of the article.]

that have been effected: (a) a stream of a virtually "national" type—that is, running its full course in the territory of one State—is impounded in a pocket of the mountains of a neighbouring State to yield a high head to a power-station that operates in and exclusively to the benefit of the first State; (b) accommodation by one State rewarded by the provision of carefully regulated quantities of water by the other; (c) several cases where the power produced is equitably divided among the participating States; (d) at least one case where the two countries run the combined scheme as a joint-stock company with allocation of shares and profits and with the output divided between the participating countries on an agreed basis.

The efforts to advance the whole subject along a wave-front of international law have been laudable but not wholly successful. The Declaration of Madrid, in 1911, did excellent spade work as a multilateral convention concerning the general use of waterways of common interest. The Geneva Convention of 1923, as a multilateral convention concerning the hydro-electric development of waterways of common interest, achieved something and helped matters on a stage further than the Madrid Declaration; yet it "has remained a dead letter as far as practical application is concerned".[1] The complexity of the problems raised and the variety in which they are encountered have so far resisted all efforts to render them amenable to a formal code based on purely legal concepts. Good neighbourliness, sound sense, recognition of and consideration for the paramount and vital needs of others, perhaps political expediency and the acceptance of the principle that "the duty of giving consent is just as important as the right of withholding it"—all contribute more to the achievement of agreement than the enunciation of any table of general principles, however much such a codification might be desirable.

The particular investigation we now pursue is that of the Erne hydro-electric development scheme in the north-west of Ireland, which is based on the waterways comprising the River Erne and the Erne lakes—the Upper Lough and the Lower Lough. The upper portion of the catchment area is situated mainly in the counties Cavan, Monaghan and Leitrim which lie within the territory of the Republic of Ireland. The loughs, over a great portion of their length, serve as boundary or contiguous waters between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The River Erne then flows from the Lower Lough Erne, passes successively through both territories and reaches the sea in the territory administered from Dublin. It is in these latter stages alone that hydro-electric possibilities exist. In the upper portions embracing the two Loughs the gradient, unfavourable for hydro-electric development, encourages flooding and presents drainage problems for solution.

II

HISTORICAL COMPLICATION

Fortunately and properly the Erne Agreement had its origin in two solidly-grounded and very practical factors. Fortunately, because the scheme was conceived and initiated by technicians who saw a practical goal and ignored the niceties of international law or quasi-international law in their approach to each legal obstacle which they took in their stride. Such procedure was in fact the prototype of that recommended by world experience: " . . . . . in order to determine the best site, States should ignore the frontier and send a group of technicians to study the scheme as though the frontier did not exist, and the governments should subsequently grant the necessary concessions "[1] Properly, because the Erne, while at the moment evading definition as a " national " river strictly, cannot in any full sense be described as an " international " river. And here reference must be made, as briefly as may be, to historical complications which may tend to narrow the usefulness of application of the present review on the international level but for clarity's sake may not remain unconsidered.

Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, had from 1801 been administered by a resident Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary, operating under warrant from the King, Lords and Commons of England. Abortive attempts to throw off this control recurred throughout the nineteenth century; but it was not until the generally turbulent period of 1916-1921 that the protest by substantial force of arms attained sufficient volume and pressure to render the efforts of Great Britain to continue to rule in Ireland ineffective and nugatory. The struggle was widespread and negotiations instituted by Mr. Lloyd George were with the representatives of Ireland. Yet obviously there were areas more strongly " unionist ", *i.e. vis-à-vis* England, and others more strongly " separatist ". Faced with the possibility of complete abdication, which the spirit of the struggle inevitably entailed or demanded, the English government found a solution by consolidating the areas of " unionist " influence and preparing to abandon those areas which were predominantly " separatist ". England was fortunate in the fact that a dominant " unionist " nucleus existed in Belfast and surrounding districts, so that by offering a separate Parliament to Six Counties, comprising the Belfast nucleus and more than a little bit more, she was able to create a deep-seated division of interests, ambitions and aims between these Six Counties and the remaining Twenty-Six.

The price of securing acceptance of this plan, which created a new outlet for power and prestige among favoured groups and individuals, was the retention of this area in complete subservience to England and her Parliament at Westminster as a bridgehead of occupation hardly less

effective strategically, economically and politically than she had enjoyed when in almost undisputed control of the whole island of Ireland. The solution then resolved itself into the creation of two legislatures, with the Council of Ireland—subsequently abandoned—as a means of effecting cooperation in matters of common, *i.e.* national, concern. This was the genesis of " Northern Ireland ", an area of six counties with a very limited autonomy, many reserved services and a subordinate Parliament, and " Southern Ireland ", now called " Ireland ", with full autonomy over an area of twenty-six counties, no reserved services and a Parliament independent of and co-equal in stature with Westminster. The evolution of the greater legislature has conferred world importance, a high degree of complete independence and all the external manifestations of independent statehood ; but it has not yet overcome the loss of the partitioned smaller area which, until re-integration of the full territory of Ireland, will continue to retard and truncate its development.

The effect of this complication has been to defeat for a period of thirty years any effort at cooperation, since the " North " as represented by its Parliament loyally fulfils the function for which it was created, has its eyes turned eastwards and enjoys freer access to the richer market of its powerful and sovereign neighbour, to which it is subservient ; whereas the " South ", by virtue of the modern concept, avails itself as far as possible of its status of independent statehood and of its equality in the eyes of international law with all States, great or small.

The confusion and befuddlement produced by the situation is aggravated by many anomalies ; but where goodwill is exercised and mutual respect is evident, all complications melt away in the flux of genuine good-neighbourliness. Mention has been made of the very limited powers held by the Northern Ireland Government. Agreement with outside bodies and the division of works and costs between them were quite *ultra vires* of the Northern Ireland Government. Hence enabling legislation had to be passed at Westminster, and the Erne Drainage and Development Bill of 1950 was the first instance of the exercise of the extended legislative powers conferred upon the Northern Ireland Parliament by the Northern Ireland Act, 1947. On 20 June 1950 the Northern Ireland Parliament passed the Bill through its final stages, Royal Assent being given on 27 June 1950. On 13 June 1950 the President of the Republic of Ireland had already signed the Act.

The occasion of this achievement was of great practical value and interest but no less of the highest juridical significance, because here was cooperation for mutual benefit conducted in a spirit of the utmost amity, exploiting nature's riches for the common good and presenting features of procedure as near to the ideal as have yet been attained in this highly complicated sphere. We shall follow now the details of this happy result.

III
THE SOLUTION

The Erne hydro-electric scheme was approved in 1945 as applying to a partial or first stage of development. This consisted of two power stations, two reservoirs and other works, capable of yielding 150 million units per year of average rainfall. A fuller development was however envisaged and planned for; but for the fulfilment of this scheme, which would increase the output by 80 million units to an average annual total of 230 million units, the cooperation of the Northern Ireland Government was necessary. To secure this cooperation the technicians of the Electricity Supply Board, who do not operate or in any way control electricity matters in the Northern area, had to present as advantageous to the Northern Ireland Government the ensuing effects upon drainage in the areas under their jurisdiction. The words of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Cosgrave, may be quoted here in explanation of the two stages of development :—

> The partial scheme to which reference has been made is known as a " run of the river " development, that is to say, it utilises the uncontrolled flow of the river as it arrives, naturally, from Upper and Lower Loughs Erne. With an uncontrolled flow there is excessive wastage of water during times of flood and, if the maximum development is to be obtained, the flood waters must be controlled and conserved for use in generating power during periods of low flow. Storage must be provided and for this purpose certain works will be undertaken in County Fermanagh and on the border. These works are described in the draft agreement.
>
> To achieve the advantages of the full development scheme, therefore, cooperation between the Electricity Supply Board and the Ministry of Finance of Northern Ireland will be necessary in the execution of the works and in the control of the water levels of the loughs. Negotiations for the purpose of reaching agreement on the many issues, technical and otherwise, which arose were conducted between the interested parties and I am happy to say that they were conducted in a most co-operative spirit, with the result that a reasonable agreement has been reached.

These are the advantages to the Electricity Supply Board and to the Republic of Ireland. As to the benefits accruing to Northern Ireland, the following may be cited from an Explanatory Memorandum :—

> This Bill contains proposals for making schemes complementary in their effect, which should substantially relieve flooding in the Lough Erne district. The schemes proposed are :—
>
> (a) a Scheme under which the Ministry of Finance, as agent for the Electricity Supply Board, Dublin, will carry out, on behalf of and at the expense of the Board, dredging and improvement of the River Erne outfall channel between Rosscor and Belleek, together with incidental works ;
>
> (b) a Scheme under which the Ministry of Finance, as drainage authority for the Erne, will carry out at the expense of Northern Ireland funds further dredging and improvement works on the inter-Lough channels.
>
> The execution of the works at (a) will enable the Board to carry out a Full Development Hydro-Electric Scheme in Co. Donegal (the only portion of the River Erne which can be so developed) and will at the same time make a Scheme under (b) a reasonable proposition.

Again, portion of a lengthy speech by Major Sinclair, the Minister of Finance in Northern Ireland, as reported by the *Belfast Newsletter* (17.5.50) may be appropriately quoted here: " Major Sinclair said that for more than a century flooding in the Lough Erne area had been under discussion by farmers, drainage authorities and engineers. Attempts had been made to solve the problem, but nothing satisfactory was evolved . . . . the farming community had indicated that they would be satisfied with a drainage scheme which would give relief during the ' growing ' season—from the beginning of April to the end of September. Owing to its extremely high cost the prospect of achieving that measure of relief was by no means promising until the Eire Electricity Supply Board formulated its plan for the hydro-development of the River Erne."

The supersession of the old Drainage Board and the integral importance of drainage as a vital part of the Agreement and of the Act deserve our special attention. Lough and River Erne Drainage and Navigation Board by its operations from 1881 to 1890 gave only partial relief to the flooding of the district. The specified levels were indicated by fixed marks on the margin of the lakes; but of the various interests affected—agriculture, fisheries, water power, navigation and public health—only the first was served, because the Board consisted mainly of farmers who, in spite of many actions in the Courts, persistently ignored the Award levels and maintained such levels as suited their own interests only. The owners of power and fishery rights downstream of Belleek whose interests were adversely affected made representations to the Government of Northern Ireland, who were however powerless to intervene. The subject was of perennial interest as witness the two Command Papers, the second of which,[12] reporting on the previous recommendations,[11] decided that the estimated cost was so high in relation to the anticipated benefit that none of the proposals could be recommended. Those proposals consisted of four schemes which altogether were designed to give relief from flooding to 23,500 acres at a total cost of £2,470,613. This general *impasse* continued until the engineers of the Electricity Supply Board put forward the proposals that led directly to the present Agreement.

The Parliamentary Secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister, Mr. Clark, in sponsoring the Bill in the Northern Ireland Senate explained, if not in so many words, that if the key to satisfactory hydro-electric development in the " South " was held by the " North ", equally so the key to satisfactory drainage in the " North " was held by the " South ". His concluding words were: " I should like to say that this Bill is the result of several years of hard work and patient negotiations. The agreement come to is, I believe, entirely satisfactory both to the North and to the South. It was arrived at in a spirit of cooperation and goodwill on all sides, and I think that all who took part in the negotiations deserve the sincere congratulations of this House."

The voice of the Belfast Press supported to the full the making of the Agreement as the following extracts show :—

May 16, 1950 deserves to be specially noted because on that day, almost for the first time, the Parliaments of Northern Ireland and Eire each welcomed a scheme of mutual benefit which is a good example of enlightened self-interest between neighbours . . . . . Only by joint action could the drainage problem round the Erne be solved and the Eire hydro-electric scheme extended. The River Erne within Northern Ireland was not suitable for hydro-electric development and any Northern Ireland scheme of drainage which did not dovetail into the Eire developments would of itself be useless and money thrown away. (*Belfast Telegraph*, 17·5·50).

For the first time since the two autonomous areas in Ireland were established legislation dealing with a matter of joint concern was presented before both the Northern and Southern Parliaments, and presented synchronously at that. Both the legislation and the occasion had their importance and significance. (From leading article in *Northern Whig*, 17·5·50.)

The aftermath of the war of 1914-18 was largely jealousies, suspicions, tariff barriers and the exclusion of cooperation. After the war of 1939-1945, for perhaps impelling reasons, the stage was set for a widespread recognition of a growing interdependence among peoples and a willingness to secure amity and economic progress through all-round self-limitation of rights which previously had been arrogantly held to be sacrosanct. In our context, therefore, it was more than a coincidence that, on the very same day that Mr. Attlee, in speaking of the Schumann Plan, referred sympathetically to " the surrender in an unprecedented degree by each country of the ability to do as it pleases," the Deputy Leader of the House in Northern Ireland said that, by coming to the present agreement, " the North was gaining enormously " and the Leader, Sir Roland Nugent, said : " Both countries are going to get a good deal out of the Bill—we in the way of drainage and they in the way of an adequate water supply. I think we can congratulate both countries on a good stroke of business." Truly, there has been a development in point of time. Mutual self-limitation of pristine rights has been not merely imperatively imposed by the necessities of every order, but has become acceptable as the threshold of voluntary and amicable agreement.

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MARY M. MACKEN: AN APPRECIATION

BY PROFESSOR J. J. HOGAN, M.A., B.LITT.

(On the occasion of her retirement from the Professorship of German in University College, Dublin, the Senate of the National University of Ireland conferred on Professor Mary M. Macken the Honorary Degree of D.Litt. In introducing her to the Chancellor and Members of the University, Professor J. J. Hogan read the following appreciation of her academic work).

CHANCELLOR and Members of the University: I have the honour of introducing to you Professor Mary Macken, first Professor of German in University College, Dublin.

Professor Macken's early studies at Macroom and Killarney won her distinctions under the Intermediate system: prizes for French and German, the senior year's Gold Medal for English. As an undergraduate at Loreto College she studied Modern Literature under that great teacher whom she was later instrumental in commemorating, Mother Eucharia Ryan; and she gained scholarships and exhibitions at each examination of the Royal University. In Paris she learned from Gaston Paris, in Berlin from Weinhold and Hermann. Taking the M.A. degree in 1900 with First Honours and a Travelling Studentship, she went to Cambridge, where, pursuing her German studies under Karl Breul, she heard also the lectures of the great Lord Acton. In 1905 she competed for the Junior Fellowship in English and History, gaining the highest place in the latter subject. In 1909 she was appointed by the Dublin Commissioners to the Lectureship in German, which shortly became the Professorship from which she is now retiring.

Like all our first professors, Mrs. Macken has been in charge of an entire subject, not a mere specialist confined to one section of a subject. She has ranged over the whole field of language and literature, from the most archaic texts to the newest experiments, and has shown herself

equal to the task of expounding the whole mind and art of one of the great countries of Europe. I think it is no secret, however, that she has a preference, though not an exclusive one, for the poets. Her interpretations of Goethe will not be forgotten by any of her pupils. Schiller, Hölderlin, Grillparzer came next perhaps. Nor has Professor Macken ever considered her subject, as it is said professors sometimes do, to be a closed one; she has welcomed the great newcomers and mastered their difficulties; she is abreast of the newest speculations upon Rainer Maria Rilke and Stefan George. She has frequently given to her work upon German writers, old and new, the more definitive shape of written criticism; her articles and reviews, particularly in STUDIES, form a valuable contribution to scholarship and literary appreciation. They form, indeed, a contribution to literature, for Mrs. Macken has decidedly the writer's gift; though hitherto she has withheld from us her poems in English and German. The Catholic currents in German literature, and all the points where it has touched Irish literature or history, have interested her specially; I may mention her studies of J. C. Mangan's German sources and of the Irish personalities who figure in Schiller's *Wallenstein*.

Since her early days in Germany, Professor Macken has exerted herself, despite the difficulties of two wars, and their uneasy preparations and aftermaths, to keep in touch with the contemporary life of the country which, in an important sense, she represents. She has been a great traveller, in Germany and elsewhere, and has often represented the University or College abroad. She has corresponded with such makers of German literature as Hermann Bahr and Hans Carossa; she has been instrumental in bringing to University College such scholars as Franz Koch, Professor Schirmer, Dr. Fritz Strich, Professor Barker Fairley. She has arranged an almost continuous exchange of students between Ireland and Germany. Nor should it be omitted that she has been foremost among those who have tried to alleviate the distress in that country since the war.

A notable extension of her German department has been the German Society, which under Professor Macken's guidance has always contrived what is so difficult for College Societies, to be at once entertaining and serious. She wisely concentrated on the drama, as an initiation of her students into living German speech; and the German Society has performed such masterpieces as Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, Schlegel's *Die stumme Schönheit*, Goethe's *Die Laune des Verliebten*. The *Weinachtsfeier* with its folk songs and carols is a recognised institution of the College. On a famous occasion Professor Macken composed for her Society *Ein fahrender Student*, a piece of kindly academic satire in the Hans Sachs metre, at which we all laughed till our own turn came and then smiled as best we could; and all was capped by secretly prepared verses in which the late Herr Georg von Dehn drew Professor Macken's own portrait.

Professor Macken's active life has not been bounded by the academic sphere. She was, in the early days, a member of the Catholic Women's Suffrage League; and might at all times be described as a strong though by no means an extreme feminist. Turning to her social work, she was part founder of the Infant Aid Society in 1911. She was from 1914-19 a member of the Cabinet Committee dealing with the unemployment of women during the war; in which she showed such organising and financial ability that her services in social work were thereafter sought from every side. In such effort she has not spared herself; for example, when before 1939 she worked with the late Professor T. W. Dillon for the reception here of Catholic refugee students and children. She has been President of our Women Graduates' Association, and in that capacity has presided over international congresses of university women at Edinburgh and Budapest. Her interest in literature and the drama, again, has extended far beyond her special subject, and in particular to the Irish literature which has developed during her own lifetime; and she is a fine connoisseur of painting.

But any account of Professor Macken must return to that College life which has been her centre. Her students have at no time been as numerous as in some departments, but her work for them has always extended, both in scope and in duration, so far beyond the mere limits of a scholastic course as to constitute over the years a great body of beneficent influence. Many distinguished pupils of hers, including some of her earliest, are here to-day; and I think they will allow me to say that Professor Macken has done more than teach her students; she has formed them, exerting that sort of influence which Newman recommended to our predecessors. But we owe her yet more. I refer now and lastly to her contribution to the central life of the College, particularly in its Academic Council and its Governing Body—her untiring service, clear thought, practical ability, and lofty principle. How close she has been to the core of the College, how fully one of the great band of our founders, will be felt by those who have read her commemorative essays upon Dr. Coffey, Professor Mary Hayden, Professor John Marcus O'Sullivan.

To Professor Macken's career, already so full, and yet still so fresh and untired, one might apply a few lines of Goethe, the poet whom she has so often pondered and expounded, *der alte Goethe*: "With a full life in this great world, the earnest striving of long years, ever investigating and establishing, continually completing but never closing, guarding faithfully the oldest stores, readily accepting the new, serenity of mind and clarity of purpose—thus one can make some way forward."

Weite Welt und breites Leben,
Langer Jahre redlich Streben,
Stets geforscht und stets gegründet,

Nie geschlossen, oft geründet,
Altestes bewahrt mit Treue,
Freundlich aufgefasstes Neue,
Heitern Sinn und reine Zwecke—
Nun ! man kommt wohl eine Strecke.

J. J. HOGAN

(The following is a list, in chronological order, of the articles contributed to STUDIES by Professor Mary M. Macken).

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Some Memories of Hungary (June 1949).
Bicentenary of Goethe (December 1949).

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XCV

GIVE ME LIGHT, O LORD

AN BARD RUADH cc.

1. Fada mé ar mearughadh sligheadh,
dob easbhadhach mh'amharc ;
an tslighe ghlan fós go bhfaicthear,
ní ród glan do ghabhus ;
ní fétar díothladh mo dhoibheart,
an díomus gum dhalladh ;
mo lámh ó lasair na bpeacadh
Athair na ngrás gabhadh.

2. Seoladh mhé ar deighiul fa dheireadh
mé ar neimhiul a-nallan ;
dá chead go bhféduimne a fromhadh
fleadh énoighre an Athar ;
ní díreach mo chéim dhá caithiomh
sírfhleadh na sé ndabhach ;
ní buan, a chalann, do chomhar,
fuar don anam t'fhasgadh.

3. Turus na hanma ar cuairt chugad
a thruaill fhallsa fhalamh,
badh cuairt chaorach dhó fa dheireadh
a ccaomhthach con allaidh ;
dá bhfédadh cách dol a ndaingion
ag so an bás ag bagar
croidhe is díochra ag díon na bpobal
re hÍosa Críost canfad.

4. A fhir thuas, toirche dom fhurtacht,
truagh, a Choimdhe, ar ccadladh ;
musguil an tréad a-tá ar t'fheithiomh
a-tá an t-ég san adhart ;
ná treig an muinntirsi ar musgladh
is cuimhnigh an cadach ;
tred bheith, a mheic, ad mhac seathar
gabh, a mheic, ar macnas.

5. Gá tarbha misi do mhusgladh
's an croidhe ina chadladh?
ad leith féin leigmid ar leighios
mé ar neimhní a-nallan;
thú an fear is urra rem fhurtacht
neamh thusa agus talamh;
leat, a Dhé, an cruinne ar do chumus
leat féin uile th'athnamh.

6. Tú do césadh ag ar cceannach,
thú énmhac an Athar;
as tú an rí do-chuaidh le cagar
a cclí—fa cuairt charad;
go Muire do aisdrigh an t-aingeal,
gabhuis chuice a chagar;
mo-chean do bhí taobhthrom torrach
ar do chlaonbharr cladhach.

7. Mar sin dí re n-iodhnaibh orad
is sí a n-imdhaigh asal,
a Laegh Muiri, a mheic ar seathar
nír cheist uirri haltrom;
do an aga dalta sin doc—(?)
's a bhas tana tharad;
a bheith fúd is (ceann) don chreidiomh
a ghlún dob fhearr n-adhart.

8. Cíoch geal ad bhéalsa as a brollach
seal mar fhésda agad;
do-ní bhar n-iomchar go humhal,
hionnladh agus th'fhalcadh;
fuair an ógh is tug a taradh
go lór d'ulc (gá) fhalach;
do mhac, a Mhuire, a ógh iodhan
as lón duitsi a dhaltas.

9. Gidh é féin do hiomchradh eision
do hiomchradh é agad,
féch leat an cleassoin dá chleasaibh,
beag d'fheartaibh an Athar;
Mac Dé ar a bhfud aga bhfeithiomh
níor léir dhá lucht faladh;
a chéim ina cceann dá cceandach
níor chéim a cceann charad.

10. Ionnsa corp Críost ar a ccumus
och a ngníomh a ghlacadh ;
a fhíonfhuil fa lár gur leagadh
lámh gach Íodhuil asan ;
gur fríth dá chésadh a cheadsan
do fhétfadh a fhalach ;
adhbhar deor tairrnge na ttroigheadh
's dá thairrnge a mbeo a bhassan.

11. An choróin sbíne is tearc thuigios
nó cneadh chíghe an charad ;
níor lór a throighthe do tholladh
a chroidhe gur casgradh ;
an uaigh ar Dhia mar do druideadh
grian ón chuairt n-a cadladh ;
Mac Dé gur téarna dar ttairreacht
ré is rédla (dá) bhfalach.

12. Táinic slán do chead a chumhacht
an treas tráth a talamh ;
do-chuaidh an céimsi do-chluintear
ar n-éirghe aga fhalach ;
" maith sén do thriall as an turus "
a-dér re Dia Athar ;
" éirghe mhoch—fa maith an siobhal—
's an chroch ret ais agud."

13. Gus an teach ndoineannta ndubhach
as coisreactha an cagadh ;
do Chríost ó nar áil a osgladh
do ráidh Críost a gcanabh
—ar chan an Coimdhe as dá chleasradh—
's na doirrsi ar n-a ndalladh,
" déna féin osgladh (gan fhuireach) "
focal ar ar hanadh ;
do aomh gach aondorus osgladh
d'aonfhocal an Athar.

14. A námhaid aga léim leision
's é an lásain níor lamhadh ;
ag teacht tar na doirsibh dhosan
na troichsin gan tapadh,
dream ór lia tuisleadh (is) teitheadh,
's iad níor bhuidhion bhalach ;
a fhine ón chuairt ar a chumas
cuairt ainglighe an Athar.

15. Gér ghearr a nIffreann a fhuireach
'n-a imioll níor ansan;
(go) ndeach srian cóir risin gcreidiomh
led dhóigh, a Dhia Athar;
ní hí an radhóigh dhún is dligheadh
's ní dú andóigh assan;
(bíodh), a dhuine a-tám do theagusg,
grádh na n-uile agad.

16. Ná bearar leat go luath leithbhreath
ar luach nó ar leas carad;
an bás ós do chionn ad chodladh
ná biodhg tre bhás th'Athar;
ar bhás ní (fhéatar a fheithiomh)
má tá énmhac agad;
ag sin an bruach fúd ag filleadh,
a thrú, is truagh do chadladh.

17. Cuir do chroidhe leisin gcreidiomh
dhuid as ghoire an gadhar;
ní léir duitsi an uaigh gá hosgladh
truagh, a dhuine, an dalladh;
ní tráth peacaidh daoibhsi a dheireadh
deasgaidh haoisi agad,
a fhir nach cluineann an comharc
's do-chluinfeadh an cagar.

18. Croidhe borb, cúl risin gcreidiomh
gur chrom tú go talamh;
a fhuil dá bhur ccionn go gcuireadh
gidh mion a bhfuil agad;
ionann duit, a dhuine, a dortadh
's luighe um fhuil an Athar;
ní linn feasta gan ar bhfeithiomh
teasta a rinn ón radharc.

19. An t-earla gléabhuidhe ar ngealadh,
ní fhétfaidhe a fhalach
do rosg, a dhuine, fa dheireadh
'n-a loch uisge agad;
an t-iul ag imtheacht óm eachtra
sdiuir mhé, a inghean Anna;
tarra is díorgaidh mo chéim chugad,
síodhuigh mhé red mhacsa.

20. Ní choisgfe a fheargsan acht ortsa
do dheaghmhac, do dhalta;
gabh a raifheirg an lá thiocfa,
gabh linn lá na tagra;
gar, a Mhuire, dhaoibh mo dheala,
led dhuine gaoil gabhsa;
mo bhreith ar neamh naisgim ortsa
an teach fairsing fada.
Fada me

Translation

1. Far have I strayed, my sight has been failing; may I yet discern the clear road, not clear is the one I have taken; I can not rid me of my sins, pride blinding me; may the Father of Graces keep my hand from the flame of sin.

2. May He at length direct me aright, for till now I have strayed; may I one day get leave to enjoy the banquet of the Father's only Son; I have not gone the straight way to enjoy the eternal banquet of the six vats (*i.e.* Six Generations); thy union, O body, with the soul is not a lasting one, for the soul is careless about holding thee.

3. O body, thou deceitful hollow covering of the soul, the soul's sojourn with thee has been as the sojourn of a sheep with a wolf; lo! death is threatening; I will cry to Jesus Christ, that heart most earnestly bent on saving man, if thereby we all may find a stout refuge.

4. O God above, come to save me; sad, O Lord, my sleepy state; rouse up the folk who depend on Thy care, for death is by their pillow; when they awake do not abandon them but remember the pact; bear with our wantonness, O Youth, for Thou art our sister's son.

5. What profits it to arouse me when my heart still sleeps? I entrust my cure to Thee, for I have been given to vanity till now; Thou hast power to save me; for me Thou art Heaven and earth; the world is in thy power for all Thou hast won is Thine.

6. Thou, only Son of the Father, wert tortured to redeem us; Thou art the King who at a word (of the Angel) didst enter a body—'twas a friend's coming; the Angel journeyed to Mary, his message came to her; blessed she who then became heavy with child, bearing Thee, her son of the wavy curling hair.

7. And so, O child of Mary, son of our sister, bearing Thee in an ass's stall, she loved to nurse Thee; . . . . . His little hand about thee; that He was subject to thee is part (?) of the Faith, O thou whose lap gave Him softest rest.

8. Her white breast and bosom at thy lips were a feast for Thee; humbly she carried Thee and washed and laved Thee; the Virgin received (into her womb) her offspring and gave Him forth (to the world), hiding Him from much peril; 'twas a feast for thee, O Mary, thou pure virgin, to nurse thy Son.

9. Though He was borne (in womb) (?) He was borne by thee; think of that achievement of the Father, one of His miracles; God's Son, going among His foes and watching over them, was yet hidden from them; His coming to redeem them was no coming among friends!

10. 'Twas hard for Christ's body to be in their power, terrible conduct their treatment of it; every Jew's hand dragged at Him till His wine-blood was spilled on the earth; He could have hidden Himself and yet allowed Himself to be tortured; our tears flow at the nail in His feet and the two nails in the quick of His hands.

11. Rare the man who knows what that crown of thorns was, or the wound in the side of that friend of ours; He was not content that His feet should be pierced, His heart had to be wounded too; when the grave closed over God, the sun ceased in its course and slept; until God's Son returned to join us moon and stars remained hidden.

12. Thanks to His own power He came safe from the grave on the third day ; after rising again He went on that journey we know of, hiding Himself again ; I will say to God the Father :— " All hail to Thy coming from that journey, Thy rising early—'twas a joyous coming—with Thy cross upon Thy back."

13. 'Twas a blessed war, His march against that stormy gloomy house ; when it would not open to Him and the doors were blocked up, Christ spoke the following words—and His words were part of His miracles : " Open instantly " said He ; that was an order found sufficient ; each of the doors opened at that single word of the Father.

14. His foes were being attacked by Him that day, and none of them dared attack Him ; when He had passed those doors, the poor folk stood motionless—accursed folk who had caused so many stumbles and backslidings ; by that angelic journey of His the Father brought His race back beneath His power.

15. Though His stay in Hell was short, He remained not near its edges (but went far in) may good guidance be given to the Faith owing to its trust in Thee, O God the Father ; we should not have wrongful confidence in Him, nor yet no trust in Him ; my lesson to thee, my friend, is to love all men.

16. Let no hasty unfair judgment be given by thee through love of gain or to favour friend ; death hovers over thee as thou sleepest (?), but (taking courage) owing to the death of thy Father (Christ) be not startled ; if thou hast a son thou canst not save him from death (?) ; lo ! how the brink (of Hell) gives way beneath thee, disastrous thy sleep, thou poor wretch.

17. Make thy spirit submit to the Faith, for the dog (of death ?) is nearest thee ; thou seest not the grave opening for thee ; alas ! my friend for thy blindness ; thou art now at the last dregs of thy life, its end is no time for sinning, O friend of mine who will not listen to the call (to salvation), and yet listens to all chatter.

18. Thy heart is rough, thou hast resisted the Faith till now thou art bent by age to the ground ; though thou mayst own but a little, let that little be spent to wipe the blood of Him (Christ) from thy head ; to swear by the blood of the Father is, my friend, the same as to shed it ; the keenness is gone from my eyes, I can not afford to be off my guard.

19. When thy bright yellow hair will have turned white thou shalt not, my friend, be able to keep thy eye from being rheumy ; O daughter of Anne direct my steps, I know not whither I am straying ; come and lead my steps to thee, make me friends with thy Son.

20. Thy good Son, thy nurseling, will abate His wrath for none but thee ; deal with His anger on the day of His coming, take my part on that Day of Judgment ; my kinship, O Mary, is near to thee, help therefore thy kinsman ; I put a bond on thee to bring me to Heaven, that long roomy castle.

NOTES

MSS : 24 P 9, 213 (P), H 4 22, 129 (H). Text is P except as below. 1*f*. dom P *h*. na *abest* P 2*d*. flegh P *et sic infra* 4*a*. dom thorracht H *c*. ar fhei. H *f*. cuimhnidh P, cuimhnighthi P 5*b*. sa cr. P *d*. ar neimhthní P. ar do neimhthí H, *leg*. is mé ar ? 6*d*. na clí H *e*. asdair a tain. P, aisdrigh ain. H 7 *only in* H *a*. nighnuibh H *e*. do an aga dalta sin doc- H *f*. bas H *g*. céim H *e*. tharadh P, taradh H *f*. gut PH 9*f*. -laidh P 10*b*. *Leg*. olc a ? ; ghlacaidh P *d*. *Leg*. assan ? *e*. *Leg*. gér ? *g*. -ghtheadh P 11*c*. na troigheadh H *e*. uaidh PH *g*. ttoirracht P, torracht H *h*. agus PH ; a PH 13*a*. Cos a H ; noinionnta P *b*. coisrearctha H *c*. a *abest* P *d*. canamh *g*. dénuidh H ; ceanfraefch H, ar eision P *i*. aon. díobh osg. P 14*e*. tuisdeal ag P, tusleadh ac H *h*. a fhine P, ainffhine H 15*c*. dá PH *g*. bí PH 16 *b*. luas P, luach H *e*. féttar fei. P, fétar a fei. H 17*b*. goi. PH *d*. a da. P, in da. H *f*. dea. na haoi. P *g*. cluininn H, ccluinfe P 18*b*. sgur P, scur H *c*. cuirrid H, gcuiridh P *d*. ge P, gidh H ; mionn PH *f*. sluidhe P 19*a*. glébh. PH *b*. fhétaigh H *d*. ina P 20 *c*. *Leg*. gabh é i raifh.? ; thiufa P *g*. nó br. P *h*. sa teach f. f. P

The Bard Ruadh given in P as author of the poem may be Aonghus Ruadh mac Amlaoibh Ó Dálaigh (+ 1617) who was sometimes called " An Bard Ruadh".

WAS JOHN KEOGH AN INFORMER?

A REPLY TO FATHER FINEGAN'S ARTICLE

BY HELEN LANDRETH

THE article by Father Francis Finegan, S.J., which appeared in *Studies* for March 1950, requires answering on three points. In attempting to prove that the J. Keogh listed in the Secret Service Money Book published by Sir John T. Gilbert in Documents Relating to Ireland 1795–1804 could not have been John Keogh of the Catholic Committee and Mount Jerome, Father Finegan presented a most unrealistic picture of Keogh, his chief point being that Keogh was an avowed pacifist who had never been in favour of either republic or rebellion. He also attacked the thesis of my book, *The Pursuit of Robert Emmet*, and my integrity as a writer.

Father Finegan opened his discussion of my references to Keogh and the manner in which he received Secret Service money by quoting two pages from *The Pursuit of Robert Emmet* which had to do with a dinner at Mount Jerome in the autumn of 1802 at which Emmet had been a guest and a letter written by Keogh, probably in March 1803, relative to another proposed dinner to which Emmet had been invited. He pointed out that this letter was not dated from Mount Jerome, as I had said, but admitted that the handwriting was indisputably that of Keogh.

He continued: "But the statement that 'Secret Service money payments include many entries of money paid to John Keogh' will be found to be baseless. In actual fact there are very few Secret Service receipts now preserved in the State Paper Office. The relevant destination number of these receipts is Second Series 533/233/12 . . . The name of John Keogh will not be found among these receipts. While the index and calendars duly list the papers found in the package . . . they do not include the name of John Keogh. A careful consultation of the various entries of John Keogh's name in the index and calendars will prove equally fruitless with regard to receipts mentioned in Miss Landreth's book. This capital blunder has been accepted as proved history in various reviews. The neglect to cite the relevant destination number of the Secret Service receipts should have put reviewers on their guard in this matter of a revered if not too well known historical character . . ."

There does not seem any possible construction to put on this statement than that I deliberately and maliciously made a false statement. As I had not given destination numbers for any of my unpublished references, but had mentioned only the archives where the papers were to be found, this laid the integrity of my whole book open to challenge.

Throughout his article Father Finegan goes to great pains to avoid mentioning that he was in explanation from me concerning the two errors

on which his charges are based. On July 28, 1949, Father Finegan had written me asking the destination number of the Secret Service receipts. I sent him a two-page reply mentioning Keogh's name in the Gilbert edition of the Secret Service money book, and giving the destination number in the State Paper Office of a letter indicating how payments were made. In the same bundle with this letter (Official Papers, Second Series, 533/233/12), there had been secret service receipts, and it was among them, I had a firm conviction, that I had seen some of Keogh's. On looking up the names in my notes, however, I found I had not listed Keogh's, but only McGucken, Corbet and F. Magan. But thinking that at the time I had made the notations there had been no doubt in my mind that the Keogh who had been sent a hundred pounds at a Dublin hotel had been John Keogh of Mount Jerome, and that I had simply put down the names of McGucken, etc., as an indication of the nature of the payments, I made the statement to Father Finegan in perfectly good faith that the Keogh receipts were in that bundle.[1]

Father Finegan had not asked for other documentation or proof, but as he seemed to have some doubt about the matter I added other documentation on which my conclusion as to Keogh's secret service activity had been based.

Later I noticed that the footnote on page 131 had said that the Keogh letter to James Ryan had been dated from Mount Jerome. As my notes had shown that this was not the case I wrote both the Royal Irish Academy and the State Paper Office asking that photostats of Keogh letters dated from Mount Jerome be sent Father Finegan, to establish the identity of the writer of the Keogh-Ryan letter. I also asked the State Paper Office to send Father Finegan photostats of the secret service receipts. The Royal Irish Academy sent Father Finegan the necessary photostats promptly, the State Paper Office sent others a little later. Mr. Diarmid Coffey, the Assistant Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, wrote me on Nov. 25, 1949, explaining a delay had been caused because he had not found the receipts signed by Keogh.

I immediately wrote Father Finegan explaining this, and stating that I was still quite sure I had seen such receipts, therefore they must have been elsewhere. For the benefit of those who have never done research in the State Paper Office let me say that there are so many different series of papers, even for a restricted period, not all the contents of which are completely covered by calendars and indexes, that it would be quite possible for a paper to be in the office and yet elude a search

[1] The footnote on page 131 of the Irish edition of *Pursuit* which contained the statement as to the receipts was the only part of my book written without access to my notes. It was done hurriedly and from memory when the Irish edition was in preparation. The American edition had not mentioned these receipts. When writing the footnote my notebooks were not available, but my recollection of the receipts was and is so vivid that I am certain I have seen them elsewhere.

for it. Though Father Finegan seems to assume that *all* secret service receipts are in the carton I referred him to, this is not the case.

Father Finegan has done research at the State Paper Office for a comparatively short time, and as his subject was not on Emmet's rising he would not necessarily be familiar with the documents on which my book was based. I spent a large part of six years doing research at the State Paper Office and supplementing my findings there in other archives and libraries. As I stated in the Foreword to *Pursuit*, the papers which remain at the State Paper Office are scattered through such an infinitely large mass of other material that their true significance would be overlooked by a casual observer. In his article Father Finegan shows time after time his inability or his disinclination to see important implications. Given time, a more acute perception and the desire to get at the truth Father Finegan or anyone else with the proper mental equipment could build up the same picture that I did.

Before leaving the subject of Father Finegan's attack on the thesis of *The Pursuit of Robert Emmet*, which occurs on pages 79 and 80 : " All the evidence available in the State Papers goes to show that government was hopelessly baffled by the suddenness of the rising under Robert Emmet's leadership . . . The fact is that the Castle was not in possession of the overwhelming information against Emmet implied in Miss Landreth's book," it should be mentioned that while I was doing research at the State Paper Office, and after it was known what my book was to be about, two unsuccessful attempts were made to prevent me from going on with my work there. It is quite possible that Father Finegan and the editor of *Studies*, unwittingly, it is to be hoped, may have allowed themselves to be used as instruments of the same faction.

The manner in which Father Finegan presents his case *for* John Keogh is unobjective, incomplete and unscholarly. To reply to him point by point in the order he uses would hinder the reader from building up a true picture of the evidence. Instead I shall present a generally chronological account of Keogh's career as it relates in any way to the matter of secret service activity, and discuss the implications of the evidence.

It was a long established policy of the government to buy off able men in opposition to government, particularly leaders of opposition movements. From the early 1780's on Keogh was in constant opposition to government policies. With Tandy, Grattan and others he took part in the early movement for Reform of Parliament, and in 1784 published a pamphlet, *Thoughts on Equal Representation* (R.I.A., quoted by Dr. R. B. McDowell in *Irish Public Opinion*, 1750–1800), which advocated the abolishment of borough representation.

The part played by Keogh in animating the Catholics of Ireland to the point where they presented a petition to the King of England himself

is too well known to be related here, but it should at least be stated that he was the key figure in the movement for the relief of the Catholics from the provisions of the Penal Laws. The more ambitious his plans for the Catholics, the more advanced his political thinking, the more likely was he to be made the object of negotiations.

In 1793, Dr. Wm. Drennan of Dublin, writing to Samuel McTier at Belfast about a possible resolution by the Catholic Committee in favour of Parliamentary Reform, said: " Above all it depends on Keogh who, I believe, still leads them all, though pretty generally suspected of having bargained with the Minister on the other side and Hobart on this, with respect to every article of the present bill, and perhaps to have submitted to a condition of drawing off from his new friends in the north, not suddenly, but gradually, so as to save appearances . . . " (*Drennan Letters*, p. 154). Father Finegan did not mention this, or the following quotation, though he quoted other passages from that book.

April 30 of that year Dr. Drennan wrote McTier that " Keogh has been complained of, for negotiating this side the water underhand and with the Under Secretary, Nepean, in England, and for having been the cause of obstructing total emancipation, I know not how truly." *Ibid*, p. 157.

Father Finegan gives only four short extracts from the informations of the spy Thomas Collins, who reported on the activities of the United Irishmen from soon after the society was founded till its suppression in May of 1794. He implies that, since Keogh was mentioned in this respect, it was proof of his fidelity. The importance of the Collins and MacNally informations which refer to Keogh, and there are many more than Father Finegan notices, is that they show what a prominent part Keogh played among those who opposed government, and thus how likely he was to be made the subject of Castle negotiations.

A Collins information of Feb. 20, 1793 said: " It will be loosing (sic) time to examine Butler, Drennan, Keogh and Tone, Bond or Tandy for I don't think anything will be got from them, though the present alarming situation of this country has been entirely caused by Keogh, Tandy, Drennan and Butler, yet you know them too well to suppose they will ever *confess Equity*." *Analecta Hibernica*, No. 17, p. 67. This was evidently the basis for Father Finegan's statement on page 82: " Collins lastly warns the Castle of the futility of attempting to get Keogh to talk."

The mention of Keogh as one of four persons responsible for the " alarming situation of the country " certainly was worthy of quotation. Father Finegan's inadequate summary of the paragraph only gives the impression that he was staunchly loyal or discreet, a quality which fitted in with Fr. Finegan's representation of him.

Father Finegan's use of the word *lastly* implies that this is the last of

the Collins informations which refer to Keogh. There are five more, some of great importance. One, written 30th Dec. 1793, which suggests an alternate method for gaining the goodwill of the common people, says: " . . . in either case the good proposed will be attained which is to prevent Messrs. Rowan, Keogh and Sheares, Dr. Reynolds and other incendaries from having it in their power to prepare the populace to second their evil machinations which never sleep." *Ibid*, p. 102.

Another, dated May 5th, 1794, shows that, though Keogh had ostentatiously left a United Irishmen meeting in 1793, he was still very much concerned with the society. On that day Collins wrote that he had been informed that Dr. Reynolds has been at Keogh's at Mount Jerome the Friday before, and there was some probability that he had not yet left it. " And you may be assured that Keogh and others of the late Catholic committee are deeply concerned with Messrs. Rowan and Jackson." *Ibid*, p. 124. It will be remembered that Jackson and Rowan had just been arrested on Cockayne's information, and that a warrant was out for Dr. Reynolds. He was in hiding and on his way to exile in America, and Rowan also fled there after his escape from gaol.

On page 84 of his article Father Finegan begins a new section with the statement: " Until the outbreak of the rebellion little more is heard of Keogh in the Castle correspondence." This is far from the truth, and is only one of the instances where Father Finegan assumes that if he has not found certain material, it is not in the State Paper Office. He continues: " He receives honourable mention in despatches 11 March 1795 in a letter from E. Cooke to Westmorland: " Keogh is cunning, insidious and deep." (*Westmorland Letters*, SPO.)

The paragraph from which this was torn reads as follows: " I hope there will be management with Keogh, Byrne and Hussey. The last is well disposed and would own the truth that the Catholics did not intend coming forward had not Grattan excited them. Byrne might be made to disclose Grattan's offer. Keogh is more cunning, and insidious and deep." The Hussey mentioned was the Rev. Thomas Hussey, chaplain at the Spanish Embassy in London, who was under the patronage of the British Government. According to the Fortescue Papers, II, Hussey used to hand on to Mr. J. B. Burges, an under-secretary at the Foreign Office, the import of Keogh's letters to him, so that all the plans of the Irish Catholics were available to the English government. The *complete* reference certainly indicates that government hoped for similar co-operation from Keogh himself, unquestionably relevant to the subject under discussion. Compare the impression given by the complete reference with the " honourable mention " Father Finegan extracts from it: it is on evidence such as this that his picture of Keogh is built up.

On Oct. 6, 1795, Cooke wrote Lord Pelham giving the substance of a letter he thought had been written to Hussey. It must either be conceded

that it was written by Keogh or place him in a secondary position with regard to the Irish Catholics. " The enclosed which I promised is very curious and I think important ; for if it be true that the author has been the chief, if not the sole mover of all the measures with respect to the Irish Catholics, his real creed principles and objects can no longer be misunderstood . . . All these points are strong evidence of the one design viz. to create a revolution in this kingdom and make it a Popish country that I think it impossible to give them a different construction. I consider the letter to have been written to *Hussey*. I got the letter secretly and it must not be known that it has been procured." Pelham Transcripts, PRO, Belfast, from the Pelham Mss. in the British Museum, Add. Mss. 37101. Father Finegan did not mention this.

This letter, together with the McNally informations (which will be given shortly) and Tone's testimony as given in his *Life*, shows that Father Finegan is completely in error in insisting that Keogh was not a separatist, and that, except for a brief period in 1792, when, to quote him, " Keogh toyed with republican ideas," he was a pacifist. He uses the term " avowed pacifist " on several occasions, but he does not give more specific references. He mentions Keogh's correspondence with Owen O'Connor of Mount Allen, which, he claims, " proves conclusively that he was never in favour of either rebellion or republic". I cannot verify that reference, so I do not know the date of the letter or letters which gave that impression. Whatever their date, they are evidence only that Keogh was adept at duplicity, which later references will substantiate.

To support his view of Keogh's pacifism, and that he was never a separatist, Father Finegan found it necessary to challenge the veracity of Wolfe Tone and his widow. He does this by questioning the authorship of the famous ' garden conversation letter ' which established the writer as wishing and working for a French invasion of Ireland. He points out that the story of the leave-taking with Keogh rested solely on Tone's own testimony, and that the claim that Keogh was the author of the garden conversation letter rested on Mrs. Tone's testimony. " We may well pause to consider the very one-sided information of the story."

Father Finegan was quoting from Madden's *United Irishmen*. He stopped just short of the passage in which Mrs. Tone, writing to the Editor of the Truth-Telle in 1842 to correct Madden's assumption, made in an earlier edition of the *United Irishmen*, that Thomas Addis Emmet and Thomas Russell had written the letter : " He (Madden) is mistaken ; it is from John Keogh, of Mount Jerome, and I have the original,—a man Tone knew to be cautious even to timidity, and yet he wished for French aid, and promised in a letter that his son Cornelius should join them on landing."

On page 84 of his article Father Finegan says : " Leonard McNally in his reports to the government in the late autumn of 1797 states that

Keogh is in the secrets of the United Irishmen (now a treasonable body) with Lord Edward, Emmet, Bond, Sweetman, and Jackson." He does not quote the reports. Had he done so, his claim that Keogh was never in favour of either republic or rebellion would have been shattered. On June 21, 1797, 620/10/unnumbered, McNally reported: "Those who are the springs of 'The United Party,' far from evincing despondency from present circumstances, are at present in high spirits and ardent expectations that every aid they wished for from France will very shortly be administered . . .

"Jackson, Bond, Keogh, Dixon and Braughall all are undoubtedly in the secret and Lewins is still in Paris. They are the cabinet council for Dublin . . ."

On Oct. 2, 1797, same carton, McNally speaks of the transfer of French negotiation headquarters from Belfast to Dublin, where the private and confidential business was confined to a very few. "Among these are Keogh, McCormic, Sweetman, Dixon, Chambers, Emmet, Lord E. Fitzgerald." These two reports are probably the ones on which Father Finegan bases his one reference to the McNally reports. Their substance indicates that Keogh was one of the chief negotiators in arranging for a French invasion, quite a different matter from being simply 'in the secret'.

Another McNally report for Feb. 1, 1798, 620/36/224, said: "The public declaration of Keogh's party is, that there is no longer a Catholic, but an Irish question before the nation, and that question is the freedom of the country." On July 28, 1797, 620/10/unnumbered, McNally said: "Neither Bond, Jackson, Keogh or McCormic were active in the business yesterday [a meeting at the Star and Garter]. They look at one object, national independence by foreign aid, and it is clear they expect it."

In all, between the 19th of October 1796 and the 7th of December 1797, McNally mentioned Keogh in ten informations. Father Finegan made the briefest, misleading reference to only two.

The rebellion finally broke out in May of 1798, and by June 10 Mr. Henry Alexander was writing Pelham that no men were more violent than Keogh and Byrne in reprobating the rebellion. (Quoted by Dr. R. B. McDowell in *Irish Public Opinion* 1750–1800, p. 241). On Sept. 18, 1798 the informer S sent an information which included this statement: "[Blank space] says Keogh is a secret friend to this business [arms] and deep in it, though a seeming friend to government, a double game." 620/40/72. Father Finegan did not mention either of these informations. They are further evidence of Keogh's duplicity and of his deep implication, even after the outbreak of the rebellion of 1798, with revolutionary projects.

On page 85 Father Finegan quotes from a document which probably

came from this same informer, (620/51/220) dated Sept. 26, probably 1798. (Compare with 620/60/90 and 620/60/102.). " Burn and Keogh liberally subscribe but take no part. Have no doubt when the great force land of conquering Ireland . . . Keogh is then to be the head Director . . . &c." He suggests : " The information may so have been framed as to implicate Keogh." Actually, it indicates Keogh's prominence.

Dr. Wright's confession, taken at the Castle in April of 1799, ended with the information that " He conceives John Keogh to have been the chief planner of all the mischief which has taken place ; that he was once a Member of the Directory ; that, however, he has ever taken care to keep himself out of Danger and has left the Country. He still keeps up his Influence. He conceives Keogh's object to have been merely for personal Situation and Importance, and that Richard McCormic was always his object." (PRO, London H.O. Papers 100, Vol. 86,). Father Finegan did not mention this.

In any arrangement which government might make with Keogh for the purpose of counteracting his influence as a leader the danger of losing his life if he did not comply would probably be held as a threat over him. That was the usual procedure, illustrated time after time in *Pursuit*. Look at the names of the men associated with Keogh as shown in McNally's letters. By the 12th of March 1798, flight or imprisonment had been the fate of them all with the exception of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was in hiding, and Keogh. There was no more evidence against Emmet, Chambers, Bond, etc., than there was against Keogh. Certainly the Castle would not allow Keogh, the foremost Catholic leader as well as a revolutionary, to be the sole, the solitary exception to their list of victims. It would take a very naive mentality to believe that they would simply let him lapse into inactivity, even if he wished to do so, without making some bargain with him. And besides Keogh's own vulnerable position there is evidence that one of Keogh's sons at least was involved with him, though limitation of space prevents me from presenting the evidence here. It is, however, included in the first manuscript I sent the editor of *Studies*. Father Finegan did not mention either of these reports.

In 1799, 16th of April, William Wickham, then in London, sent the Castle the copy of a letter he had received from the British minister at Hamburgh, Sir James Crauford (620/18a/11), respecting some Irish rebels, including Cornelius Keogh. " The Father was a member of the Executive Committee of the United Irish, but is said to have made his peace privately with Government. The Son is come away, it is said, with the consent of his Father, to go to Paris and join the Army, but pretended he was going to join the Archduke and had letters for that purpose." Father Finegan used the Book of Suspects entry I had sent him for this, without stating I had supplied the reference. His interpretation of the vital phrase ' said to have made his peace privately with

government ' is ambiguous in the extreme. " There need be no mystery about the phraseology ' said to have made his peace privately with government ' ". There is none ; it means secret submission to government such as was made by McGucken, Michael Quigley, McNally and many others whose history is cited in *Pursuit*.

Father Finegan dismisses the references to K. and to J. Keogh in the Secret Service money book in this manner : ' The first two entries [*recte* four] " K " might be anyone whose name begins with that letter. The third entry, " J. Keogh " similarly proves nothing. Besides, what name does " J." stand for ? '

With nothing more than the desire to present the whole case and allow readers to draw their conclusions from as much evidence as possible I give every entry in the Secret Service Money book which could possibly relate to Keogh of Mount Jerome :—

1799 (May 20) Mr. Cooke for K	£50	0	0
1800 Jan. 7 Mr. Cooke for K	50	0	0
*1800 Decem. 1 Mr. Marsden, repayment for what he advanced J. —	100	0	0
1801 (July 25) Mr. Cooke for K	100	0	0
1801 Oct. 30 J. Keogh per receipt	100	0	0
1803 (Nov.) 17 Mr. Flint for K (£100 returned same day)			

" It is not unreasonable to suggest that someone else named John Keogh should be accounted for in connection with the receipt of Secret Service payments," says Father Finegan, and he cites other Keoghs, including a John Keogh of Eccles Street, Dublin, mentioned in SPO documents. It is a reasonable suggestion. Keogh, even John Keogh, is a common name. But there was only *one* John Keogh who was in a position to render services to government valuable enough to warrant payments of fifty and a hundred pounds, and that was the John Keogh whose career has been outlined above, and will be continued. No other person whose name begins with K. in the Secret Service Money Book was receiving amounts comparable to these.

From now on, Keogh's activities must be viewed with the special object of determining if he was acting openly and honestly with the United Irishmen and with the Irish Catholics. If his peace with government had included the abandonment of his former principles and activities, he would hardly continue to attend meetings of the seditious unless he did so for the purpose of reporting them to government. In the autumn of 1802, as Father Finegan shows on page 81, he was attending such meetings. He quotes from a letter of Sir George Shee of London which shows that " the meetings between Keogh, Dillon the Cloth Merchant

* It is hardly likely that this refers to J.W., McNally's pseudonym.

on Parliment Street and Broghall (*recte* Braughall) had lately been very frequent indeed and that the latter had set out for Paris by the North of Scotland and Hambro."

Father Finegan ignores the implications of this letter, and diverts the reader with a suggestion having to do with the thesis of my book which shows he has not read it thoroughly. I made it very clear that Marsden and Wickham, though using government agencies to watch Emmet and his colleagues, and eventually to frustrate the rising just when they wished to, were acting for Pitt, then out of office, and that they told their plans to no one. *The Viceroy's Postbag*, which Father Finegan himself quotes, shows, pp. 449–452, that from May of 1803 on, Marsden and Wickham were receiving secret information about the rising from Peter Burrowes about which they told the Viceroy nothing.

In March of 1803, if its endorsement is correct, Keogh wrote one James Ryan as follows: (524/153/23).

"My dear Sir:

I went to Milltown to prevail on our friend R.E. to meet you at dinner to-day. The Servant told me he was in the Batchelors walk, where I sent a note to him yesterday—but if you see him as I dare say you will will you take the trouble to tell him I met Mr. Curran and told him you were to be here. He said he would come also. There is no one else.

I remain very sinc'ly y'rs
JOHN KEOGH.

Tuesday morning."

On page 81 Father Finegan goes to great pains to prove how uncongenial Emmet and Keogh would have been. Why then would the elderly Keogh have gone to so much trouble to have Emmet as his dinner guest unless he wanted to know the current state of his plans and preparations? The conversation at the first dinner, as related by Dr. Madden, indicates that Keogh had questioned Emmet as to the extent of the proposed rebellion, exactly the sort of question an informer would ask.

Father Finegan's mention of the raid on Keogh's house in July of 1803 was discussed fully in my first version. Here I have space only to say that the raid neither proves nor disproves that Keogh was an informer. However, Father Finegan's assumption that Marsden would have told the Lord Lieutenant everything which passed between Keogh and himself when Keogh went to the Castle is proved false by the reference just above to *The Viceroy's Postbag*, as well as by the fact that Marsden evidently did not tell him about the two dinners Keogh had given for Emmet.

November 30, 1806, Marsden, then in London, wrote James Trail at the Castle a letter concerning various Irish informers, beginning with a priest at Dunboyne. He continues: "Should the business in Mayo

and that quarter assume a French aspect tell Mr. E(lliot) to look to John Keogh. He purchased in that part of the country, and a son of his has been a good deal among the people there. The father showed a very mischievous disposition in the Catholic business last year, and it has never been out of reach of suspicion that the family are disposed to play the *whole* game. I mentioned this to Mr. E. in conversation as (a) matter of general surmise, but the state of things on the continent now makes me look more narrowly at possibilities." (State of the Country Papers, Second Series).

A letter in Fortescue Papers, II, p. 337, written in 1792, indicated that Keogh had purchased above 2,000 per year in Roscommon, where his family had much influence. The whole game appears another way of saying the double game. Though I gave Father Finegan this reference he did not use it.

The Drennan Letters and the Fortescue Papers for 1807 show Keogh's activity as leader of the Catholics in presenting a petition asking for further relief. Mr. Elliot had said that much would depend on Keogh. He spoke for it at Catholic meetings, and presented the Catholics' viewpoint at the Castle, but later, when a motion was proposed that would have put the matter to a vote " *instanter* and without procrastination," it was Keogh who defeated it, and the whole Catholic balloon collapsed. Father Finegan did not mention these letters, though they have a definite bearing on the subject under discussion.

In November of that year Mr. James Trail sent the following letter to the financial under-secretary at the Castle : (Official Papers, Second Series, 533/233/32).

My dear Sir :

I have this moment received the enclosed from Sir A. Wellesley [then Chief Secretary] with a request that £100 be put into it, and that after sealing it you will have the goodness to deliver it as before.

Ever yours, my Dear Sir,
Ja's Trail.

Mr. Taylor, Esq'r
November 27, 1807."

On the face of the letter, in Mr. Taylor's handwriting, it is endorsed : " Keogh Munster Hotel." On the back the endorsement is : " 27 Nov'm 1807 £100 K Munster Hotel." Father Finegan says of this letter : " Again there is no evidence as to who Keogh may be." In the light of the evidence I have presented here there seems to be at least circumstantial evidence that it was Keogh of Mount Jerome. History has not presented any other whose services would be worth that amount of money to government. John Keogh of Eccles Street, whom Father Finegan had mentioned as a possible recipient of SS money, had died in 1803.

That Keogh would not be above accepting such a sum, is suggested in his refusal to contribute to a subscription for the Belfast Academical Institution which was being circulated in 1817, as quoted by Dr. Drennan. Writing his sister on Sept. 22, 1817 he said : " John Keogh gave us a history of the Catholics for nearly two hours, and a warm hand, but no heart at the end, being a poor old man with £4,000 a year." Daniel O'Connell contributed £10 annually to the institution.

On the evidence of the very incomplete and misleading presentation he gave the Collins and McNally reports, his treatment of the Westmorland letter, his failure to use relevant references I sent him and his editing of those he did use, as well as other omissions of material relating to Keogh, Father Finegan must either be convicted of superficiality of research or unobjective and biased presentation, or both. I have cited many instances of his willingness to accept uncritically anything he wished to believe, and his refusal to accept any statement which does not fit in with his point of view, though it means challenging the integrity of Wolfe Tone, Mrs. Tone, and myself. I have indicated his many failures to see important implications, or his refusal to discuss them. Another quality which bars him from consideration as a serious historical writer is his almost childlike inconsistency. On page 84 he offers as an indication that Keogh was not a revolutionary the fact that his coachmen could cite only one treasonable expression. On the next page he says : " One thing is certain, Keogh would have known how to keep silence about himself and others."

Father Finegan tacitly admits my objectivity by saying that after the passages he cites from my book I do not further ' besmirch ' Keogh. It never was my intention to do so ; it is not now. I am presenting an objective sketch of an important historical character whose career impinged on Robert Emmet's. It discloses a man whose altruistic and democratic tendencies were governed to a certain extent by timidity which led him at times to qualify or deny his real principles. Such timidity would make him most likely to succumb to the Castle negotiations which his position as a leader made inevitable, and which his ' private peace with government ' indicates took place.

Only one aspect of Keogh's career has been dealt with here. It is to be hoped that eventually he will find a competent and objective biographer who will develop fully his career as a Reform agitator and as a United Irishman, and do justice to his great services to the Catholics. The man can then be judged as a whole, his faults counterbalanced by his virtues.

HELEN LANDRETH

P.S.—Since submitting the above Reply it has been possible, through the help of a friend, to identify and consult the source of Father Finegan's

ambiguous and misleading reference to the Owen O'Conor correspondence, p. 82 of his article: "Keogh's correspondence with Owen O'Connor [sic] of Mount Allen proves conclusively that he was never in favour either of rebellion or republic. (OCC. p. 323)."

The correct title of the work is *The O Conors of Connaught: An Historical Memoir . . . Compiled from a Mss. of the Late John O Donovan, LL.D. . . . . By the Rt. Hon. Charles Owen O Conor Don.* Only a small portion of this work is concerned with Owen O Conor of Mount Allen, and only three of Keogh's letters to him are printed. None of them substantiates Father Finegan's statement. Keogh's letter on page 323 is introduced by the following statement: "In the Memoirs of Wolfe Tone, it is stated that Keogh, Byrne, and other leaders of the Catholic Committee were quite aware of Tone's ultimate designs, and were prepared to join him in carrying them out. Such is not substantiated by Owen O'Conor's correspondence. With all these men he was on the most intimate terms of private friendship, and no record remains which would indicate that they ever seriously contemplated rebellion or the setting up of a republican government. All their efforts were within the constitution, and when the Society of United Irishmen became, after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, a secret society with a treasonable design, they left it."

As Keogh's letter which follows that statement is concerned solely with a petition for total emancipation which Grattan was to present to the House of Commons (the date is Jan. 3, 1795), the words of the introductory paragraph must have been the basis for Father Finegan's assertion. But they represent, not the ideas of John Keogh, but of the compiler of the book, The O'Conor Don, and he was as mistaken in his belief as to Keogh's real principles and later activities as he was as to the supposed permanent separation of Keogh and Byrne from the United Irishmen. Father Finegan's assignment of the statement directly to Keogh's correspondence, without indicating that it is based on the inaccurate conclusions of another person who was writing nearly a century later, is entirely unwarranted, but in line with other distortions of material.

He makes no mention, in the first letter printed in this book, p. 297–8 dated Nov. 30, 1791, of Keogh's belief that "Our oppressions would justifie 'Paine's principles of resistance and overthrow of government,'" nor the fact that the third letter, pp. 324–5, indicates that in 1805 (six years after the 'private peace with government') Keogh was opposing the calling of an aggregate meeting to make manifest the feelings of the people, and that the editor had commented as follows: "Against this proposal one of the most vehement opponents was John Keogh, the former leader of the Catholics, and in the following letter, written by him to Owen O'Conor in 1805, *very little of the supposed rebel of* 1798 *will be found.*" The italics are mine.

It should also be pointed out that the date of the letter on which Father Finegan supposedly based his assertion of Keogh's principles, 1795, was so early in the history of republicanism and rebellion that by no means can his use of the word *never* be justified.

REPLY FROM FATHER FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

THE vital question at issue in this controversy is whether John Keogh can be proved guilty from his own handwriting. Miss Landreth herself assumes as much in the foot-note to page 131 of *The Pursuit of Robert Emmet* :—" Secret Service Money Payments include many entries of money paid to John Keogh. Receipts are in the same handwriting as a letter from John Keogh to John Ryan of Marlborough Street which was dated from Mount Jerome." Miss Landreth now admits that she cannot cite the destination number of these receipts in the original handwriting of John Keogh, and students of Irish history will scarcely feel convinced of John Keogh's guilt from Miss Landreth's statement :—" My recollection of the receipts was and is so vivid that I am certain I have seen them elsewhere." The present writer, in his article on John Keogh in the March issue of STUDIES, never called Miss Landreth's good faith in question nor does he do so now. But he is entitled to ask the very pertinent question : why, in view of her excellent documentation of Keogh's career, did she fail to take a note of the destination number of those very damning receipts ? Such a discovery, however unpleasant for Irishmen, would have proved epoch-making ; for Keogh's career has often been investigated —by such competent scholars as Fitzpatrick, Lecky, Postgate, Gwynn— but so far nothing to his discredit has been discovered in the State Papers. All the new matter produced by Miss Landreth in her Reply really heightens our estimate of Keogh. She has rendered good service to his name. My criticism is solely concerned with her interpretation of the documents.

The entries in the Secret Service Book, which is written throughout in a uniform hand, are of no value. Miss Landreth assumes that " K " or " J. Keogh " can mean only Keogh of Mount Jerome. That remains to be proved. The name *John* Keogh is never found in the same book. It is an assumption that Keogh of Mount Jerome alone could be the recipient of sums like £50 or £100. The social or political status of such a person need not necessarily have been higher than McGucken's, McNally's or the Sham Squire's. Keogh's private peace with the government in 1798 is again assumed to be an undertaking to give information for pecuniary reward. Why then should he violently denounce the rebellion ? It would have suited the government's purpose better that he should remain secretly the confidant of the United Irishmen. His

peace with the government need not have involved anything more than taking the oath of allegiance which was administered throughout the country from the summer of 1797 onwards.

Miss Landreth's preoccupation with the theory of the missing Pitt-Marsden letter makes her call in question Keogh's good faith in his dealings with Robert Emmet. Briefly the theory is this. Sir Bernard Burke, according to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York, stated that many years before he had read a letter in the State Paper Office which had been written by William Pitt to Alexander Marsden the Under-secretary in Ireland, urging him to foment a rebellion led by Robert Emmet. The result of a new rising so soon after '98 would enable Pitt to get back to office on the ground of the British administration's bungling of Irish affairs. Miss Landreth gives the impression (I do not say intentionally) that this theory has been unnoticed since Dr. Emmet's book was published. Readers will recall the good reasons for rejecting this theory set forth by Mr. Raymond Postgate, some twenty years ago, in his sympathetic biography of Robert Emmet. Marsden henceforth, according to Miss Landreth, was out to deceive both the Irish and English administrations. Thus she misinterprets the purport of the letter written by Sir George Shee to Marsden in October 1802, in which Shee warns Marsden that Keogh and other United Irishmen are again holding frequent meetings. We are asked to believe that Sir George Shee, a responsible servant of the Crown in London, is reporting to Marsden what the latter knows to be untrue owing to his own secret arrangements with Pitt. This is an assumption based on the hypothesis of the Pitt-Marsden letter theory. It is surely plain that Shee's letter shows the distrust or rather fear of the government with regard to John Keogh.

I need only refer to one other hypothesis of Miss Landreth's in which she attempts to question Keogh's good name. It arises from her interpretation of a letter written by Marsden from London on 30 November 1806 to James Trail at Dublin Castle :—" It has never been out of the reach of suspicion that the family [*i.e.* Keogh and his sons] are disposed to play the *whole game*." Miss Landreth interprets the words " whole game " as *double game*. This interpretation does violence to the context of the letter. The " whole game " can only mean the abandoning of constitutional methods for physical force methods. Why, we may well ask, should Marsden write thus of Keogh and his family to the Castle, which presumably kept a record in Keogh's own handwriting of receipts for payment received in the secret service of the government ? Hypotheses are not enough to brand a man as guilty—*nemo reus donec probetur*.

Limitations of space alone prevented my fuller documentation from the State Papers. The lacunae supplied by Miss Landreth in her present article do no damage to Keogh's good name. Also I had space only to hint at the O'Conor correspondence. The late Rt. Hon. Charles Owen

O'Conor Don bases his arguments for Keogh's constitutionalism not only on the letters which he has included in his book, but on two of John Keogh's letters written in February and March 1797. These two unpublished letters, of which I have copies through the courtesy of the present O'Conor Don, amply demonstrate that Keogh desired to work out Emancipation and Reform in a purely constitutional way.

FRANCIS FINEGAN

REVIEWS

NEW TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

THE NEW TESTAMENT. Newly Translated from the Latin Vulgate. By Mgr. Ronald A. Knox. London: Burns Oates. 1948. xii, 449 p. 12s. 6d.

THE OLD TESTAMENT. Newly Translated from the Latin Vulgate. By the same. Burns Oates. 1948-1949. xii, 1604 p. 42s.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS. In Latin and English. By the same. Burns Oates. 1948. xii, 451 p. 12s. 6d.

MGR. KNOX is to be congratulated on the completion of his new translation of the whole Bible into English. The origin of the work, which spread over nine years, was the commission which he received from the British Hierarchy to render the Vulgate Version of the New Testament into English. His translation has received official approbation, so that English Catholics now possess two official versions of the New Testament. This work was followed by a similar new translation of the Vulgate version of the Old Testament into English, a private venture, neither officially commissioned nor officially approved. We are reminded of St. Jerome whose revision of the Latin versions of the New Testament was made by order of Pope St. Damasus, but whose more famous Latin translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew and Aramaic was a self-imposed task. The Book of Psalms contains the text of the new Psalterium Romanum as well as Mgr. Knox's English Translation.

The primary object of all translations of the Bible is to render clearly and correctly the exact sense of the original. A secondary object is to make the Bible attractive to readers by the language and style of the new medium in which it is expressed. The commission given to Mgr. Knox was chiefly motivated by his undoubted mastery of English and by dissatisfaction with the existing English version. It is not surprising therefore that the translator, restricted to the text of the Vulgate, gave his chief attention to the secondary object, and in this respect he has achieved a very brilliant success. The reviewer of his New Testament translation in *The Times Literary Supplement* has justly remarked: "Indeed it is the style of Mgr. Knox's version that is, without question, its outstanding merit. It is not merely that Mgr. Knox can translate; he is possessed in addition of the most uncanny faculty of making language live; he has used this faculty to the full in his translation".

Criticisms of the New Testament translation are directed against errors or imperfections in expressing the exact sense of the original. The translator is indeed always orthodox and nearly always exact in his renderings. There are cases however

in which the original sense has been abandoned for an interpretation or is weakened or obscured in its mode of expression. The version and the notes occasionally suggest that Mgr. Knox is not too conversant with textual criticism and has not always consulted profitably the best recent Catholic commentaries. Some examples will show that these criticisms are not unjustified, but do not detract from the substantial merit of the New Testament translation.

In John xi, 27 the words: *who cometh* (Vulgate " has come ") *into the world* are rendered: *it is for thy coming the world has waited.* This is not a translation but an interpretation. In 1 Cor. xi, 3 we read: *And for that reason the woman ought to have authority over her head.* This too literal rendering is unintelligible in the context. Diodorus Siculus (Histor i, 47) uses kingdoms for diadems when he writes: They have three kingdoms on their heads. Similarly St. Paul uses the abstract word *authority* for the concrete *sign of authority* or veil which the context requires. In Rom. viii, 29 the omission of the causal particle at the beginning of the verse obscures the sense. The particle shows that vv. 29-31 are the proof of the assertion made in v. 28 and that the same persons are referred to in both passages. In Rom. vii, 27 St. Paul sums up his description of the unregenerate Jew subject to the law of Moses but unable to observe it owing to the weakness of the flesh, of a nature corrupted by sin: *Left to myself therefore I serve with my mind the law of God, with my flesh the law of sin.* Mgr. Knox renders more obscurely: *If I am left to myself, my conscience is at God's disposition, but my natural powers are at the disposition of sin.* He informs us in a note on vv. 7-25 that " St. Paul's main contention in any case appears to be that we cast no aspersion on the holiness of the Mosaic law when we describe it as powerless to save us". But surely the sanctity of the law is here quite incidental and St. Paul's main object is to describe the miserable condition of the unregenerate from which Christ has delivered him. The difficulty in John vii, 8, arising from a textual corruption in the Vulgate, is solved by what might well be called a quibble and without any reference to the correct Greek text: *Go ye up to the feast; I am not yet going up to this feast.* The note on 1 Cor. iv, 51 is misleading. The overwhelming evidence of the Greek Mss.—all the minuscules and most of the uncials—supports the reading: *We shall not all die but we shall all be changed,* which is required by the context and now accepted by all scholars. It is St. Paul's teaching in this and two other passages that the just who are alive on the last day shall not die, but shall be transformed when Christ comes to judge the *living* and the dead. Here and in 2 Cor. v and Rom. vii Mgr. Knox seems unaware of the progress of Catholic exegesis.

A good translation of the Old Testament is particularly difficult. The text is often corrupt, the language unfamiliar and the allusions obscure. Even in a rendering, not of the original text but of the Latin Vulgate, it is necessary for the correct understanding of the sense to recognise the errors inevitable in pioneer work like that of St. Jerome, whose version is guaranteed by the Council of Trent in its doctrinal content but not in all its interpretations. The new translation of the Old Testament has undoubtedly the charm of style and language with which we are already familiar. A closer inspection of it however gives the impression that the translator did not fully realise the difficulties of his undertaking and that he completed his work with undue haste and without sufficient preparatory study. Important deviations of the Vulgate from the original text are not indicated in the notes. Consultation of good modern commentaries would have enabled the translator to avoid misinterpretations like the following.

Ezechiel xix is an elegy on three exiled kings of Judah: Joachaz, Joachin and Sedecias, not mentioned by name but successively indicated by various allusions. Mgr. Knox recognises Joachaz and Joachin but ignores Sedecias, last king of Judah,

whose fall is associated with that of the dynasty and the nation. Three of the allusions to Sedecias survive in the Vulgate, but all have disappeared in the new translation.

In Isaias vii, 14 *virgo* is rendered maid, as a more exact equivalent of the Hebrew *alma*, but there is no indication of the Hebrew reading: *and she shall call his name Emmanuel*, which implies that the child had no earthly father and justifies the rendering virgin. It is the father who gives the name in Isaias viii, 3. The exact literal sense of *alma* is unmarried maiden, assumed to be a virgin by the strict moral code of the Hebrews. In a note to Isaias viii, 5 we are informed that the people of Judah were to be punished by the invasion of Sennacherib "for cutting themselves off from the holy city . . . and permitting the son of Romelia to enter their country". Isaias, on the contrary, clearly predicts this invasion as the punishment of the people for want of faith in the prophetic promise of divine deliverance from their enemies, Rasin and the son of Romelia. Mgr. Knox bases this misinterpretation on a corrupt reading of the Hebrew text, retained by St. Jerome but corrected by all modern commentators. In Isaias liii, 10 the Greek version has the words: *he shall see light* i.e., he shall live again after his death. The Hebrew text omits light, but the ancient Hebrew Ms. of Isaias, discovered in 1947, fortunately supplies it and confirms the Greek reading. Neither *he shall see* nor *light* appears in the new translation. This prophecy of the resurrection of the Servant of Yahweh is of great importance for the identification of the Servant with the Messias. Mgr. Knox is rather vague on this point and does not inform his readers that it is the traditional teaching of the Church—and indeed of all Christians until the rise of rationalism in the eighteenth century. North's recent monograph on the Suffering Servant of Yahweh marks a critical return to the traditional messianic interpretation. Contrary to the note to Isaias xlix, 1, there is no doubt that the Servant is the speaker here. It is about the speaker in the third Servant Song that doubts have been expressed.

In Exodus xii, 48 the order about the paschal lamb, lit. *no bone shall be broken in him*, is rendered: *You must not . . . break it up into joints*. St. John sees in this text a prophecy that the bones of Christ, (of whom the lamb was a type), unlike those of the two thieves, would not be broken on Calvary. The new interpretation is evidently not St. John's, since it is verified in the two thieves as well as in Christ. It is not a translation but a misinterpretation.

Perhaps the most surprising translation of Mgr. Knox is the rendering of *praestate obsequium illi* in the Psalterium Romanum (Psalm ii, 12), by "kiss the rod". There is no rod in text or versions, and the Hebrew verb lit. "kiss" is undoubtedly used in its figurative sense of paying homage, a sense derived, like that of our word "adore," from the pagan custom of kissing idols. It is also surprising that a modern translator takes no account in his rendering of the poetical form of much of the Old Testament.

Finally it may well be queried whether the new translation is not too free, does not depart too much and too frequently from the wording of the original. A more literal translation shows greater respect for the Word of God and usually indicates more exactly the various shades of meaning. St. Augustus commends, in a translation of the Bible, *verborum tenacitas cum perspicuitate sententiae*—close adherence to the words together with clear expression of the sense. What Catholics need most, however, to nourish their piety and increase their knowledge of the Word of God is an exact vernacular version of the original texts. During the last half century such versions have been published in nearly all Catholic countries, and quite recently the present Holy Father has authorised for use in the breviary a new Latin version of the Psalter made from the original. In English we have the Westminster Version of the New Testament. A similar version of the Old Testament is still lacking. Mgr. Knox might have supplied the need, as St. Jerome did in his time. He preferred, however, to give us another rendering of the Latin Vulgate.

E. POWER

Biography

UN PIONNIER DE LA CIVILISATION OCCIDENTALE: SAINT COLOMBAN. By Marguérite M. Dubois, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris: Editions Alsatia. pp. 239. 1950.

DANS LA BARBARIE MEROVINGIENNE: SAINT COLOMBAN. By Marguérite Henry-Rosier. Paris: Editions Spes. 1950. 250 fr.

The revived interest in our great countryman, St. Columban, which during a memorable week of last July gathered in his own Luxeuil prelates and statesmen and scholars from all the countries on which the fruitful seed of his apostolate had fallen, will be strengthened and propagated by the appearance of these two very excellent books, called forth by the centennial celebrations. To the scholarly French lady, Dr. Marguérite M. Dubois, whose untiring work for the international Columbanian Congress will have made her name familiar to all responsive to its summons, we owe a most notable contribution to Columbanian studies. Taking for her text the pronouncement of another illustrious client of our Saint, Pope Pius XI, that "St. Columban was one of the great pioneers of Western civilisation," she has shown us, in spirited action, the re-evangelisation of Gaul and the neighbouring countries, and has painted in vivid colours the men who accomplished it and the Ireland from which they drew their inspiration. No toil has been reckoned too great by the distinguished author (a recognised expert in Anglo-Saxon religious literature) to establish the thesis the Holy Father's judgement presented to her; and the scholarship and literary art already shown in her works on Aelfric and Cynewulf and the strain of chivalric poetry evident in her "Roman d'Arthur" sustain and vivify every page of her latest work. The first two chapters of her book, dealing with the boyhood and youth of our Saint (on which Jonas, the main "source" for his life history, has been very laconic) are based on a study of almost every authority on the early history of Ireland which one can recall: Dr. Kenney, Father John Ryan, S.J., J. J. O'Kelly, Margaret Stokes, Eleanor Hull, Dom Gougaud, etc., as well as Montalembert and the modern French, German, and Italian writers on the period; while for the Saint himself and the problems of ecclesiastical discipline which his life and times present, her bibliography shows a familiarity with Latin, French, English, German, and Italian *oeuvres* that is most impressive. All this learning she has the happy knack of carrying lightly, so that Monseigneur Calvet, her old Professor at the *Institut Catholique*, wins our adhesion when he claims for this "biographie séduisante," this "livre attachant et rayonnant," the charm of a novel and the satisfying quality of a work of solid scholarship.

Mlle. Henry-Rosier has brought to her telling of St. Columban's story her great gifts as poet, novelist, and dramatist. For her, too, the *Vita Sancti Columbani* of Jonas has been the main source; and she retells and enlarges it with a vividness and charm of style which will win many readers, and will perhaps suggest to some of them how apt a subject is here presented for a "Big Picture". *Script* and *scenario* are already to hand in her first chapter, which brings us to the deep glades of the forest at the foot of the Vosges mountains, silent but for the rustling of the trees in the wind, and the song of the birds and hidden streams. Into its green light and its solitude come suddenly thirteen white-clad figures—the tall masterly Irishman at their head—who are cutting a way for themselves through the thick and tangled underwood, to challenge the barbarism of the Merovingian Kings, and found a new Christian civilisation on the ruins of old Roman *castra*. Photogenic too is her conception of Columban's native Ireland (mostly drawn from Montalembert and Ozanam), bathed in a misty dream-laden atmosphere, which plays a few odd tricks with our geography and our early ecclesiastical history. We find, for instance,

Columban's first school under Sinel (on Cleenish, in Lough Erne) transplanted to the banks of the Shannon; while Saints Germanus and Lupus, with St. Patrick a British monk in their *suite*, are given credit for the first attempt at our evangelisation. But once the author has brought her hero to the countries and places she herself knows best and has Jonas to mark out the route for her, Mlle. Henry-Rosier shows herself an admirable exponent of the Columbanian story and her tribute to our great Irish missionary's work as at " the root of French culture " deserves grateful appreciation.

HELENA CONCANNON

ALFRED TENNYSON. By Charles Tennyson. London: Macmillan. 1949. 30s.

IN recent years the most representative poet of the Victorian age has not received much attention from the biographers. It is over fifty years since Hallam Tennyson's memoir of his father was first published and that memoir was not by any means complete. The decline of Tennyson's poetic reputation is partly responsible for this neglect. It had begun in the nineties, when his long life was nearing its end, and was accelerated in the nineteen-twenties when the younger writers, during the aftermath of the first World War, looked savagely around for literary landmarks of the last era and picked upon Tennyson as the Albert Memorial of verse. Since then his stock has risen, though it is still much below par, and there is at least a fairly widespread recognition that he was a meticulous craftsman, that even by his ' indirections ' he found many directions out, and that in his own way he summed up an epoch.

This biography by his grandson adds a great many facts to those known about the poet and fills in much of the gap which Hallam Tennyson left in his account of his father's youth. It enables us to catch glimpses of Alfred improvising in heroic couplets at the age of eleven, imitating Milton at fifteen and producing lyrics of considerable merit while not yet seventeen. Perhaps the most interesting figure in the book, however, is that of the poet's father, Dr. Tennyson, rector of Somersby, a morbid man, frustrated by his father's preference for the younger brother whom he made his heir, subject to fits of gloom which in his later years caused him to take to drink, and which seem to have played their part in making Alfred Tennyson super-sensitive to criticism even when his reputation was at its highest.

Sir Charles Tennyson's painstaking work is marred here and there by his lack of literary sense. ' Certainly he had never used language, rhyme and rhythm with greater power and freedom,' he comments upon the Wellington Ode, ' or achieved a more subtle continuity and a more noble and satisfying conclusion than that which brought this—perhaps his greatest poem—to a close:

> Hush, the Dead March wails in the people's ears:
> The dark crowd moves, and there are sobs and tears:
> The black earth yawns: the mortal disappears . . .'

This adulation of inferior work does the author of *Tithonus* and *Ulysses* little service. His biographer is more at home in describing the *minutiae* of the Somersby Rectory and the subsequent careers of the poet's brothers, who were eccentric enough to be interesting. The difficulty which faces any biographer of Tennyson perhaps has been best indicated by himself in a conversation with Carlyle. ' I don't think that since Shakespeare there has been such a master of the English language as I,' he said. ' To be sure, I've nothing to say.' It is to his grandson's credit that, while ignoring this difficulty or perhaps unaware of it, he has written a biography which in places is extremely readable.

R. McH.

W. B. YEATS: Man and Poet. By Norman Jeffares. London: Routledge. 1949. 21s.

THE GOLDEN NIGHTINGALE. By Donald Stauffer. London: Macmillan. 1949. 22s. 6d.

YEATS: The Man and the Masks. By Richard Ellmann. London and New York: Macmillan. 1949. 21s. ($5.)

THESE three books about our best and most-investigated poet are complementary and to some extent mutually contradictory. Mr. Jeffares follows the Hone tradition of step by step narration and comment; and although he frequently fails to distinguish between the bric-à-brac and the milestones, the result is a reasonably clear chart of the impact of events upon Yeats's life and a useful work of reference for students of Yeats's poetry. It contains much information about the poet's background and sources, but is defective in its method of literary criticism, which largely consists in citation of parallel or associative passages from the work of Yeats and others. Mr. Ellmann, on the other hand, disregards the bric-à-brac, sets up his own milestones, issues a proclamation of independence of all previous biographers, and confidently proceeds to pluck out the heart of the mystery of Yeats's personality. *The Man and the Masks* at times reminds one of the tempter in *Murder in the Cathedral* who claims

> that there is no mystery
> About this man who played a certain part in history.

But for all its assertiveness, its slick psychological judgment against which literary judgments are placed, like ladders against a fake wall during commando exercises, it is a stimulating book, for it encourages and sometimes provokes the formation of the reader's judgment; and many of its judgments, whether psychological or literary, are accurate.

The third author, Mr. Stauffer of Princeton, is entirely concerned with the poetry of Yeats. Taking as his text Yeats's remark that he would leave his 'myths and symbols to explain themselves as the years go by and one poem lights up another', he endeavours to discern some of the principles common to Yeats's lyric poems. His interpretation of the text leads him to trace certain continuing symbols—the gyre, the hair, the mummy-cloth—with a good deal of illumination. In places, however, he falls into the solipsistic method of Professor Wilson Knight in Shakespearean criticism; that is to say, he confuses the associative process of his own mind with those of the poet's. Thus Yeats's line in *The Wild Swans at Coole*:

> 'The woodland paths are dry'

leads to Mr. Stauffer's comment; 'The paths are 'dry' and perhaps that is of importance to see how earth, air, fire and water give structure to the poem; only the fourth element is neglected—unless the lyric has the simplicity of fire. We know that Yeats speculated on the meaning of the four elements and ordinarily used them with consistency.'

The implication is that the poem's life must conform to Sir Toby's conception of life and consist of the four elements, which is about as logical as expecting it to conform to Sir Andrew's conception and consist of eating and drinking. Elsewhere Mr. Stauffer has some good things to say about the difficulties of the personal symbol in Yeats. 'His typical poems are not based on unreinforced personal symbols,' he writes; 'the best of them need not float upon a bottomless quagmire of annotation.' The different levels of meaning which a symbol often presents, usually leave at least one level open to the annotator. But a more complex problem arises when the poet uses as a personal symbol a figure which already has quite different and well-established connotations for the reader. For example, in the early poems of Yeats, Fergus Mac Roy is Yeats's symbol for the artist, the man who gives up

material power for a poetic dream. In the Craobh Ruadh epic, Fergus is a very different figure; he loses power because his passion for Nessa enables Nessa to supplant him by Conor Mac Nessa; he is not noted for his imagination; and he has enough power to burn Emain Macha. Thus the symbolism of Yeats in his 'Fergus poems' may have very different effects on English and Irish readers. Yeats brought to the writing of *Deirdre* a more exact knowledge of his material, apparently, for here his Fergus is more in tune with the epic. 'Long experience', says Mr. Stauffer, writing of the general problem, 'taught Yeats to avoid this type of idiosyncrasy.' Yet another difficulty arose from his shaping of an idiosyncratic system behind his later symbolism.

The inevitable question now crops up of whether Yeats believed in his own system as expounded in *A Vision*. Mr. Stauffer seems to accept that he did. Mr. Ellmann has been criticized by one of our leading poets for saying that he sometimes did and sometimes did not. And Mr. Jeffares, as far as one can discern his opinion, seems to agree with the latter. Indeed it is difficult to do otherwise. The Yeatsian 'system', with its mixture of beliefs drawn from Vico, Berkeley, Swedenborg, Boehme and others, with its gyres, recurrent types, mathematically arranged clock-faces and intersecting cones, phases of the moon and divisions of the self seems ramshackle enough. The odd thing about it is that it worked in helping Yeats to write poetry. The natural conclusion is that he believed in it fully. Yet even Mr. Stauffer holds that Yeats believed in it only in a heuristic sense, imagining a system, as he had once adopted a mythology, for the sake of a stimulus producing speculation and poetry. Keats's discerning remark about the poet—that he has no identity and is continually filling some other body—might be applied to Yeats, whose father warned him against trying to be a philosopher when he was meant to be a poet. Yet speculative philosophy was so neglected in the Ireland of his time that the temptation to pose as one must have been irresistible.

R. McH.

MARIA EDGEWORTH. By Isabel C. Clarke. London: Hutchinson. 1950. 18s.

THE publishers of this book tell us that there is now a revival of interest in Maria Edgeworth. This revival was a long time coming. The reasons for the general indifference of Irish people towards her work are more probably political than literary; for Miss Edgeworth has been ousted by the Irish Literary Revival. Yeats and Synge have been completely successful in establishing Irish literary ideals on a basis of race and nationality; and, to-day, those in Ireland who are artistically conscious are deeply aware of their forefathers. The fact that their minds have opened to the artistic life of the outside world in general does not obscure the essentially national basis of their culture. This awareness emphasises the idealogical rift between ourselves and a writer like Maria Edgeworth—who, as Padraic Colum said,[1] "has no notion what Irish culture could mean". The truth is that, however sympathetic she may have been to the struggling Irish tenants, she is not one of us.

The revival of interest in Maria Edgeworth at this moment shows in us, I think, a sense of security. Now that we have established our national traditions on a firm footing, we can safely pay a visit to the Big House without dreading that the rent will be raised. For this visit, Isabel Clarke is an excellent guide.

Her book is very interesting. It is really a biography of Maria and her father, the remarkable Richard Lovell Edgeworth. "The Portentous bore", Virginia Woolf calls him,[2] but there is a lot more to him than that. Miss Clarke is very

[1] *The British Review* volume XI, 1915.
[2] *The Common Reader* (1925), p. 151.

sympathetic to him, praising his invention of a form of telegraph, honouring him as a literary critic, and only gently reproving his education of his son Dick à la Rousseau's Emile. Her portrait of Maria is of " a woman of persistent good-humour, gifted with a happy and contented nature, a great capacity for domestic love, and an utter absence of jealousy or pettiness, combined with a talent that sometimes approached genius and which has placed her for ever among the immortals of English literature ".

This is biography with little attempt at critical estimation. A lot of work remains to be done on this aspect of Maria Edgeworth, and the time has surely come for a revaluation. She is under a disadvantage, however, in that didacticism is very unpopular. To a world which is sure of nothing except the complexity of human motive, didacticism is ridiculous generalisation. That is not to say that Maria Edgeworth has nothing to offer to this age, but that the reader must come to terms with a different world.

Miss Clarke's biography is full, well-rounded, and well-documented. I expect it to be the standard basis of all future study on this subject.

DENIS O'DONOHUE

JOHN DRYDEN. By David Nicol Smith. (The Clark Lectures, 1948-49). Cambridge University Press. 1950. 7s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR DAVID NICOL SMITH'S reputation as an authority on Dryden is above criticism, yet perhaps one whose enthusiasm for Dryden has been fed by Professor Nicol Smith may at least express admiration for this volume of the Clark Lectures. Dryden's manifold activity in literature and the transitional period in which he lived complicate the task of a writer in this field. Professor Nicol Smith excels in showing, with simplicity and truth, the problems which confronted the creative artist in Dryden's time and the conditions which swayed the balance towards the definition of new aims. For example, there was the problem of the new kind of drama to take the place of the Elizabethan drama which had passed away; the possibility of writing rhymed plays, now that blank verse had so obviously disintegrated in the theatre; the question of the Unities; the methods required by satire.

These are but a few of the difficulties which Dryden had to solve in his own way—and not merely to solve them in practice, but also as a critic to explain the principles underlying the solution. To understand the greatness of Dryden one must see him as a Janus. The expert on Dryden must be able to move with ease not alone through Dryden's period, but also through the age which preceded it and that which immediately followed. It is through this mastery, combined with temperate judgment and vigour, that Professor Nicol Smith arouses and maintains our interest in this poet. Such an achievement is of vital importance in these days, because there is a tendency to combine with an excessive passion of the moderns an excessive ignorance of the poets of a bygone age. T. S. Eliot says: " The people which ceases to care for its literary inheritance becomes barbaric." Against such obliviscence Professor Nicol Smith is a firm bulwark.

B. G. MACCARTHY

THE GREATNESS OF SPAIN

THE SPANIARDS IN THEIR HISTORY. By Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Translated with a prefatory essay by Professor Walter Starkie. London: Hollis and Carter. 1950. Pp. viii, 252. 16s.

IT was Alexander Dumas who remarked that " Africa begins at the Pyrenees," and the remark has been more than once capped by Spaniards themselves. Miguel

de Unamuno has turned the implied belittlement into a boast and declared: "So far from being Europeanized, I should not be ashamed of being African—yes, as African as Tertullian."

Professor Walter Starkie, in his essay which precedes the main portion of this book, comments as follows upon Unamuno's statement: "The remark is a striking one and goes a long way towards giving us a key to the Spanish soul. Spain can never be entirely European—she has always resisted with tenacity any invader, and the spectacle of the chief men of Saguntum throwing themselves and their treasures into the flames of their burning city has been repeated many a time in her history. However far her intellectuals may assimilate the ideals of her neighbours, there is always the leavening of *Españolismo* in her literature and art. All Spanish writers who start their careers by trying to be European, inevitably, sooner or later, return to the national tradition."

Yet, from another and obvious point of view, Spain is one of the most European of countries. For Spain it was that resisted the Moors from the eighth century to the fifteenth and fought the battles of Christendom in the South-West, as other peoples fought them in the North and East. It was Spain that took European speech and civilization to the New World and bequeathed these to more than half a continent. And it was Spain that, more than any other European power, identified herself and her cause with the traditional faith and religion of Europe.

Dr. Menéndez Pidal wrote this famous essay, which now appears and for the first time in English, as a foreword for the Spanish Academy's history of Spain published in 1947. Dr. Menéndez Pidal is Director of the Spanish Academy, is one of the leading Spanish humanists and an acknowledged authority, at home and abroad, in Spanish medieval studies. His essay is an analysis of the Spanish national characteristics, as these reveal themselves in history and in individual experience. It is the work of a scholar who loves the older and traditional Spain—as not all Spanish writers have done—and can yet appreciate the importance and the need of foreign influences. He points to the strong traditional sentiment of many Spaniards which makes them mistrust what is foreign or new. "Among the fundamental meanings of the Latin word *novitas*," he comments, "the French take as the predominating one the positive value given to *haute nouveauté* and *nouveautés*, while the Spaniard allows the depreciatory meaning to dominate in the common phrase *sin novedad* which, when applied to any situation, implies in any change that may occur a possible turn for the worse." To confirm this, he cites the lexicon definition of Cavarrubias: *Novedad*, something new and unaccustomed. It is wont to be dangerous because it means changing what has been sanctioned by ancient usage." Yet, at the same time he deplores the Left-wing rejection of Spanish greatness and the smearing of Spain's history by Left-wing writers.

The fundamental Spanish quality Dr. Menéndez Pidal judges to be that *austerity* which was noted by Trogus Pompeius, the Roman historian of the first century A.D. as specially characteristic of the peoples of the Iberian peninsula, *dura omnibus et adstricta parsimonia*. This quality is at the root of that Spanish detachment; detachment from possessions and comfort, provided that the necessities be there, detachment from the interests, social and political, of the community. With it goes a certain hardness, even toughness, that at times can bloom into the most heroic of achievements on the grandest scale. "Every account," he writes "of our wars or explorations describes episodes of amazing endurance against fatigue and fasting, of fearlessness in the face of death. It is this robust physical and spiritual constitution, with its inexhaustible reserves of energy, which explains the greater part of our history from the transcendental deeds performed in the unremitting war against Islam. . to the countless enterprises in the old and new

world at the beginning of this modern age." Yet this very energy, summoned forth by danger or idealism, can and indeed does sink downwards into a day to day apathy where more ordinary problems have to be handled ; the philosophy becomes that of *mañana*, the policy that of *laisser faire*.

In the Spanish character there exists a rugged vein of individualism. The Spaniard is concerned not so much with social responsibility in general but with the individual rights of himself and his personal neighbour. This has meant an acute sense of justice and a refusal to give consideration to persons because of rank or position. From this sprang the remarkable attitude of the Spanish kings towards the Indians in the New World, which regarded them as the king's subjects on a par with the Spaniards from Europe. Dr. Menéndez Pidal reminds us of this attitude : " From this lofty spirit of Justice sprang the exemplary laws of the Indies, which are a model of modern methods of colonization never surpassed ; their noble spirit may be summed up in the ordinance of Philip II which directed that any injuries and ill-treatment inflicted by Spaniards on the Indians should be more heavily punished than if those crimes had been committed against Spaniards, and he declared that they were to be considered crimes against the State."

This individualism manifests itself in the inherent sense of dignity so marked in Spain, the root of Spanish courtesy and friendliness, the cause too of a certain touchiness and of an inability to collaborate easily with others. It appears again in the intransigence and the drift towards anarchy that have marked and marred Spanish history.

On the problem of Spanish regionalism Dr. Menéndez Pidal, though himself a Galician, rejects the historical interpretations of modern separatists. To him these are unhistorical, and they ignore the concept of Spain, unified and one, that persisted throughout the centuries of disintegration, when the small kingdoms in North and North-Eastern Spain were fighting their hard battle against Islam. The Asturian king of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for all the tiny dimensions of his kingdom, was known as *Imperator totius Hispaniae* and, as such, was recognized by the kings of Navarre and Aragon and by the Count of Barcelona.

> " This is an essential political thought necessary to explain the constant tendency towards unification which goes on peacefully through all the later Middle Ages. And this condemnation of separatism and sub-division as being abnormal and harmful was not held by historians and statesmen alone, but by the mass of the people. The *jongleurs* in their epic songs declaimed against the partition of the kingdoms made by Ferdinand I, saying that never should the Empire of Spain be divided, but that it should all be under one lord. This minstrel poem was of such weight and authority that we find it written in prose in the *Estoria de España* itself. Thus, in opposition to sporadic localism, the concept of Spanish unity, which was expressed for the first time in the ancient chronicle of Alfonso III, reaches its perfection and highest divulgation in the Latin pages of *El Toledano* and in the Spanish prose of Alfonso X."

Menéndez Pidal insists that the racial mixture in the Peninsula is not noticeably greater than that in France, nor, in his judgment, is there a larger diversity of languages and dialects. Consequently, he disapproves of the attempts made under the Second Republic to create special statutes for Basques and Catalans. What is Basque culture, he asks, if not inseparably linked with that of Castile to the glory of both ?

Most interesting of all, and far-reaching, are the chapters on " The Two Spains". To one side, traditional Spain, with its firm hold upon the past and a certain mistrust of *novedad*, a feeling too that much contact with foreign peoples and ideas must weaken the essential Spanish spirit ; on the opposite side, the " other "

Spain, turning to foreign lands and often foreign faiths for inspiration, all too ready to abandon or misinterpret the Spanish achievement throughout history. The cleavage between the two schools of thought is all the deeper because of the intransigence with which Spaniards hold to their ideas and reject those of critics and opponents.

In the traditional view Spain came to maturity under *los reyes católicos* and the unification of the Peninsula by Ferdinand and Isabella, flowered into magnificent radiance and strength during the era of the *Conquistadores*, and reached its national zenith in the Counter-Reformation policies of Charles V and Philip II. For the disciples of the " other " Spain the Counter-Reformation period is already decline. For some of the pessimists among them Spain has been in permanent decline for centuries. Azorín, for instance, could write in 1913 : " Spain has never, even in her most brilliant century, the sixteenth, had a moment of genuine vitality." Ortega y Gasset declared in 1921 that Spain had been suffering a decline since the invasion of the Visigoths. Menéndez Pelayo, a predecessor and in some ways a master of Menéndez Pidal, was furiously angry with these unhistorical pessimists of Left-wing tendency, as he watched " the long slow suicide of a people who, deceived by garrulous sophists, grimly liquidates its own past, makes mockery of its ancestors, and rejects all that in history made them great".

But Menéndez Pidal will not accept as final this division of his country into these two schools of irreconcilable thinking. Behind them are the outlines of the one, true Spain, that must and will learn to adapt the new to the old, while learning to revere the splendours of the historic past. For this, he urges, mutual understanding is most necessary and the growth of a broader tolerance. Nor is it traditional Spain alone that must be deemed intolerant. It was precisely this blind intolerance of the " other " Spain that brought the Second Spanish Republic to ruin. " Larra lamented over half Spain as dead, yet the deceased rose from the tomb to continue the mortal struggle. A hundred years later, when Azaña proclaimed the death of Catholic Spain, the latter rose and it was republican Spain which fell."

Menéndez Pidal's essay is balanced, judicious and eminently fair. It is a joy to read such a book that opens the character and heart of the Spanish people in so revealing and sympathetic a manner. Modern Spain has been isolated from the outside world for far too long—first, through the Civil War and then on account of the World War that followed and, even since, through the misguided foreign policies of other countries. This essay, in its Englished form, serves the admirable purpose of making us understand the Spaniards and of appreciating their great historical achievement. For great it was, and great it continues to be in its abiding consequences.

The introduction by Professor Walter Starkie claims to be nothing more than a modest appreciation of the work of Dr. Menéndez Pidal. It succeeds in being an attractive study of Spanish literature, and especially of the influence in and upon that literature of the old Spanish *Romancero* of epics and ballads. Dr. Starkie is an Irishman, a distinguished Spanish scholar—to say nothing of his summer jauntings into *Gipsydom* (in the Raggle-Taggle volumes)—and during his nine years in Madrid as Director of the British Institute he has rendered great service indeed to the cause of Anglo-Spanish friendship.

J. M.

The Future of Austria

AUSTRIA. By E. H. Buschbeck. Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 252. 10s. 6d.

OESTERREICHS HISTORISCHE MISSION IN EUROPA. By Clemens Graf zu Brandis. Zurich: Amalthea Verlag. Pp. 234.

It was clearly laid down by the Allied Powers in 1944 and 1945 that Austria would be restored, after the war, to her pre-1938 position of independence. She was regarded as the first country to be overrun and annexed by Nazi Germany. Yet to-day, five years subsequently while I pen these words, Austria is still an occupied land, though an Austrian government does function in Vienna. The commission which has the task of framing a peace treaty with this government, though it has held more than two hundred and fifty meetings, has not yet reached final agreement. It is a sad commentary upon the Russian determination not to reach agreement, not to release Austria from Soviet clutches, and not to withdraw Soviet soldiery from East Central Europe.

The first of Austria's problems centres upon this peace treaty. *Klein Oesterreich* must be allowed to manage its own affairs and be rid of foreign occupation. The occupation, particularly that of the Russian troops, is an unjustifiable, indeed a thoroughly wicked, burden.

But there is more to Austria than this immediate problem of *Klein Oesterreich.* Has the significance of historic Austria no bearing upon European needs to-day? Indeed, this significance is a twofold one and calls for consideration. There is first the Austria that both as Empire and senior member of the German *Staatenbund* was the rallying point of the German States till the rise of Prussian hegemony in the mid-nineteenth century; and there is the German Austria which was the nucleus of a *Völkerbund* of Central European peoples, differing in origin and language, under the patriarchal rule of the Austrian Kaiser.

Dr. Buschbeck's volume does not deal directly with these matters. His is a clear and straightforward record of Austrian history, thin in places and at times a trifle *simpliste*—witness his paragraphs on the Reformation. But, on the whole, it is a fair and valuable introduction. Himself an Austrian, he is anxious to dispel illusions and misinterpretations. Men easily forget, he reminds his readers, that there existed a long tradition of friendship between England and Austria from the era of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy to the outbreak of the first World War, and that it was the sharp emphasis upon nationality, at all costs, marking the settlements of Versailles and St. Germain which made men ignore the greatness of the Austrian experiment in a supra-national State. Dr. Buschbeck faces honestly the problems that confronted the government of Vienna at the turn of the century: the Southern Slav question, embittered by Serbian pressure and by Pan Slav propaganda emanating from Russia. Austria might have overcome this by the creation of a Trialist State, in which the Slavs, Czechs to North and Croats and Slovenes in the South, would have been a third member to the partnership of Germans and Hungarians. This, as is well known, was the intention of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, murdered at Sarajevo. He notes too the further problem that arose from the German-Czech tension in Bohemia, though this was not a genuinely Austrian problem, since it had been created by the Prussian influence upon the *Sudetendeutschen.*

Dr. Buschbeck insists that the old Austria did not break up from within.

> "The old political organism on the Danube was not broken up by the tremendous numerical superiority of the Russian forces, and even less by the Italian armies, nor even by a prolonged strain which went far beyond

> the material and personal resources of the country. The very length and intensity of the resistance is a measure of the cohesion that still existed. This was achieved by the political warfare which, for good or ill, Lord Northcliffe forced upon a reluctant British Cabinet. The recognition, as belligerent and allied Powers, of nationalities which had some quarrel with the old Empire sealed its fate. This it was that turned defeat, which was inevitable after America's entry into the war, into disintegration. And afterwards, it was to produce the truly grotesque situation that (as a result of a policy of keeping two irons in the fire) nationalities, the vast majority of whose sons had fought, and fought well, in the ranks of the old Austro-Hungarian Army, suddenly appeared among the victorious Allied Powers at the peace-table. Truly, the laughter of the gods must have rung through the *Elysée*."

The problem is thus epitomised :

> " Thus ended the State of which the greatest of Czech historians, Palacky, and a great British Foreign Secretary, Palmerston, had said that, if it did not exist, it would have had to be invented. Whether it was wise and statesmanlike to destroy it instead of attempting its regeneration is *one of the major questions of contemporary history*. But it would seem that the elements for an answer are more clearly discernible to-day than twenty-five or even fifteen years ago. One thing is certain : that the events of the last ten years could not have taken place, had not the Eastern half of Europe been balkanized, and a political and economic vacuum created which was and is a direct provocation for the evil spirits of extraneous covetousness."

The sections on post-1918 Austria are very fair and balanced, though for myself I would never have equated the Christian Social Party with the English Conservatives ; and the book includes useful though brief chapters on Austrian art and music as well as on economics and on the Austrian constitution.

Dr. Buschbeck's book was composed, he tells us, in 1945, and the manuscript of *Oesterreichs Historische Mission in Europa* dates from the same period. It is the work of Clemens Graf zu Brandis, and it bears the stamp of a 1945 mentality. It accepts, even desires, the defeat of Germany, and looks forward to a rebuilding of both Germany and Austria with the help and encouragement of the occupying Powers. What is strange—due no doubt to the isolation in which the author was composing—is that he anticipates no conflict between the Anglo-Saxon and Russian elements in the occupation. Writing with a typical German detachment, he argues that Britain and the United States are primarily sea Powers and therefore need not clash with Russia, a predominantly land Power, while Russia should now feel secure since her two land rivals, Germany and Japan, were on the point of being crushed.

When Graf Brandis descends from his ivory tower and reflects upon historical themes, he is far more realistic and interesting. In his judgment Prussia has been the evil genius of Germany, and to solve the German problem it is necessary to put the clock back. Germany must return, in spirit and even in shape, to the First Reich, to the position in which were the German States prior to the Prussian unification of Germany and prior naturally to the Third Reich of Hitler. This means the *Entpreussung des deutschen Volkes*. Germany has to be de-prussianized till there be neither smell nor smear of Prussia left. On this Graf Brandis is adamant. No other solution is of the slightest avail. Either you de-prussianize Germany or Germany will be prussianized anew for a third World War. His remedy therefore is a *federal* Germany, with a large measure of autonomy for the constituent provinces and, where possible, a social monarchy as their structure. He traces the develop-

ment of monarchy from the feudal to the absolute and from the absolute to the Parliamentary, and now he urges the establishment of a monarchy conscious of its social obligations and duties to the people—a task he considers will be most honestly and effectively carried through by the new type of *social* monarch. As once the monarchy allied itself with the new bourgeoisie against the feudal aristocracy, so now monarchy must ally itself with the working-classes against bourgeois control.

Graf Brandis insists that the fault of the Versailles settlement was to leave Prussia intact and in possession. What would he say of the present European situation? At least the cause of federation has been lost in Germany, and the consistent attitude of the people of Berlin *vis à vis* the Russians has enhanced their prestige to a remarkable degree. Berlin still holds its place as the centre of a post-war Germany, which, if and when it can be properly constituted, will be a unitary Germany.

In his analysis of the Austrian character and experiment Graf Brandis gives us some felicitous pages. As an Austrian, he understands and esteems the qualities which are especially Austrian: that balance between extremes, the atmosphere of tolerance, the culture and the humanity. He defends the Habsburg Kaisers as worthy, intelligent and very popular monarchs and shows that there was a larger air of genuine democracy and a wider basis of opportunity in the Habsburg administration than in any other country. The Austrian Kaiser of the court became the *lieber Kaiser* of the popular song and the *gemütlicher Vater* of popular tradition.

The Austrian experiment failed, he considers, because it could not solve the national problems which arose under Franz Josef II. Not that these were insoluble, nor that the great majority of the people in the Austrian lands were opposed to the old *Kaiserreich*. Just as he regards Prussia as the evil genius of Germany, so in his verdict is Hungary the villain of the Austrian piece. The compromise of 1867, which resulted in the Dual Monarchy and raised Hungary to the status of an equal partner in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was a grave mistake and did irreparable harm. Austria preserved the old notion of many nationalities within the one supra-national framework. But the spirit of Hungary was always, in his opinion, chauvinist, and Hungary existed within the new Imperial system as a fiercely national State pursuing fiercely national ends. Hence, the estrangement of the Croats and generally of the Balkans. So firm is the author's attitude with regard to Hungary that even to-day he considers that country incapable of happy existence within a supra-national setting.

Graf Brandis adds that the influence of a Prussianized Germany after 1870, particularly on the German inhabitants of Bohemia and to a slighter but still appreciable degree on the Austrians of Salzburg and Tyrol, did great harm to the Austrian idea. Once the German within Austria became *German* in the North German sense and so lost that breadth and tolerance which had always characterized the genuine Austrian, grave dangers were created for the Austrian State and its ideal.

When one reflects upon the sad condition of Eastern Europe, subject at the moment to Communist terrorism and exploitation, one may well turn in appreciation to this older Austrian idea by which, despite differences and at times conflicting interests, peoples lived and worked together in a thoroughly human and Christian harmony. Palacky's verdict was that, had there been no historic Austria, history would have been forced to establish one. Palacky's judgment, true as it was for the past, may have an even more forceful significance for the future. When Eastern and East Central Europe return to more normal conditions, then there will be a sore need of something like the old Austrian idea, and maybe historic Austria will again play a large part in its realisation.

J. M.

HISTORY

AN INVASION THAT FAILED. The French Expedition to Ireland in 1796. By Commander E. H. Stuart Jones, R.N. With Illustrations. Oxford: Basil Blackwood. 1950. 21s.

THE archives of monarchic France of the eighteenth century contain numerous projects for the invasion of Ireland, as well as many reports on its social and political condition. During the first fifty years of that century six such projects were studied at different times by the bureaux of the French Marine and War Offices; and there was even a larger number considered up to the downfall of the monarchy in the last decade of the century. One gets the impression that many of these were more or less academic, though in 1759 an invasion of England and Ireland was actively planned with an army of 50,000 men. But the disastrous defeat of the fleet, almost immediately after starting from the French coast, ended the project. It was left at any rate to France of the Directorate, inspired by the ideas of the Revolution and influenced by the agents of an Irish resurgence, to equip an expeditionary force which in December, 1796, set out for the invasion of Ireland.

This invasion is the theme of this work of Mr. Stuart Jones, whose special qualification for the task as a Commander of the British Navy makes, apart from his other qualifications, the book of singular interest. He writes with the detachment of the true historian and the authoritativeness of an expert; and, unlike most English writers on such matters, he shows an intuitive understanding of the Ireland of the time and of the leaders of its movement for independence. He worked for prolonged periods in the various archives at Paris, had access in England to various private collections of documents and letters, and in addition came to Ireland to reconnoitre with the expert's eye the terrain at Bantry Bay. With such personal equipment and thoroughness the result is that a book has appeared which is at once unique and a valuable contribution to Irish historical literature.

An adequate sketch of political and social conditions in France and Ireland in 1796, together with the relations of these countries with England at the time, makes a background for the author's dramatic story. To two of the greatest soldiers of France just then, Carnot and Hoche, the detachment of Ireland from England strongly appealed as the pathway to victory over the greatest enemy of their country. Their views were strengthened by the reports of Irish agents in Paris like Tone, who told them of an Ireland seething with discontent, ripe for insurrection and eagerly looking to France for help. After protracted discussions the French government decided, with some hesitation, upon the policy of invading Ireland. Elaborate plans were drawn up and, after many difficulties had been overcome, an expeditionary army of 15,000 men, complete with artillery and all accessories, embarked under Hoche. The story of the adventure with its many vicissitudes and its tragic failure —a failure that was so nearly a triumph—is told with the mastery that might be expected from the author with his practical knowledge of naval tactics and strategy.

Of the many notable figures in the dramatic story unfolded in the pages of this book, two stand out vividly. Hoche and Tone, each a typical product of their time, were in many ways kindred spirits—" drawn together," as the author says, " by the strange working of destiny ". They died in the springtime of life with their ideals unrealised, and in the Prologue of his book the author has a fine appreciation of their valour and gallantry. " Stout-hearted patriots they were," he writes, " and, nothing daunted, they pursued their designs to the end of their short lives."

Some of the more interesting pages of this book discuss the question of the attitude of the people of Munster towards the French landing at Bantry. In his treatment of the matter the author shows a critical acumen and detachment as well

as an understanding of Irish conditions at the time, which are often lacking even in Irish writers on that event. The attitude of hostility to the French, displayed by the retainers and 'hangers-on' of the 'Big House' at Bantry, he assesses at its true value. Their 'loyalty,' no more than the 'loyalty' expressed in the resolution of the ascendancy Corporation of Cork on the occasion, could not be regarded as reflecting popular feeling. Mr. Stuart Jones quotes with some approval the cautious Lecky, who wrote that the test of popular feeling was not decisive—the crucial test would have been a French landing. He thinks that there was an undercurrent of desire to help the French which "might have risen to the surface if their troops had got ashore and scored some initial success". Speculation on such a hypothetical question is necessarily vague, but in its consideration a few factors of some consequence should not be overlooked. There were, for example, as Lord Edward FitzGerald's official papers disclose, over 100,000 united Irishmen in Munster alone, whose hopes were centred in France for the deliverance of their country. And less than two years after the event at Bantry one thousand French soldiers, under a mediocre General, did land on the coast of Connacht, a province badly organised compared with Munster, and were joined by thousands of Irishmen. One can surmise what would have happened if Hoche, superb soldier, had landed with 15,000 trained veterans on the Munster coast.

Out of the rich material to his hand the author has written a book of permanent value on an important period of Irish history. It is embellished with many illustrations, of which not the least interesting are some maps and photographs of Bantry Bay.

R. H.

BRITISH ANTIQUITY. By T. D. Kendrick. London: Methuen. 1950. 21s.

THE title of this curious book will mislead many readers who know Dr. Kendrick's previous work and think of him primarily as the Keeper of British Antiquities in the British Museum. Here he lays aside, not his antiquarian interests, but his interest in the kind of exhibits which we expect to see in the British Museum. He has been fascinated by the story of a famous medieval historical romance: *Historia Regum Britanniae,* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Welshmen were sometimes best-sellers in the Middle Ages. Giraldus Cambrensis has done endless harm to Ireland's reputation by the astonishing vitality of his comments and narrative in the *Topographia Hiberniae.* Geoffrey of Monmouth, another Welshman, was Gerald's senior by some fifty years; his *Historia* was even more successful in his appeal to medieval readers. Gerald owed his success in part to the natural eagerness of medieval Englishmen to hear malicious tales of their Irish neighbours. Geoffrey owed his success to the emotional patriotism which made Englishmen eager to believe that their country's history was no less glorious than the history of Rome or Gaul. Arthur had conquered Europe; the line of British kings descended in straight line from Aeneas through Brutus—hence the name of *Brut* for the fanciful versions of this bogus history. How did Geoffrey come to write this book? Was his *vetustissimus liber* no more than a most audacious lie? Or did he base his story on some Welsh version of early tales about Arthur and his knights?

Dr. Kendrick is not so much concerned with the problem of Geoffrey's sources, about which a whole library has been written, as with the story of his influence on later ages. His inquiry has resulted in much desultory note-taking, which forms the basis of this curiously discursive but most readable book. The centre-piece of the story is the valiant effort made by John Leland and some other Tudor antiquaries to defend the authenticity of Geoffrey's narrative, which had been sharply,

sometimes rudely questioned by scholars who had learned to read their history with critical Renaissance minds. Dr. Kendrick notes that more than one historian of the twelfth century refused to give credence to Geoffrey's fairy-tales. Strangely enough, Gerald of Wales was one of Geoffrey's most outspoken critics. He had been preceded by men like Alfred of Beverley and William of Newburgh, who warned their readers against belief in kings whose exploits were unknown to continental chroniclers. But this did not prevent Henry II from causing his grandson to be christened Arthur, nor his son Richard Coeur-de-Lion from presenting Arthur's newly-discovered sword Excalibur to Tancred of Sicily. Geoffrey's tales went almost unquestioned throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Indeed an Irish-American nun, Mother Laura Keeler, has recently written an erudite thesis, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the late Latin Chroniclers, 1300-1500*, in which she shows how freely Geoffrey's narrative was used as a quarry from which later chroniclers, when short of good material, could borrow without need of any express acknowledgement.

Renaissance scholarship began to affect English thought in the fifteenth century ; some early Benedictine pioneers of the new humanist criticism began to question Geoffrey's credibility in a quiet way. Then came Polyodre Virgil, whose *Anglica Historia* was first published at Basle in 1534. His pointed criticism of a venerable legend—or rather, by this time, a whole group of legends which had been developed out of Geoffrey's too successful fiction—angered the Englishmen of Henry VIII's day. After all, the new Tudor dynasty was Welsh, and Henry VII had caused his eldest son to be christened Arthur. Were all the ancient glories of British antiquity to be jettisoned to please an Italian critic? It was bad enough that a Scot named John Major should have ventured to criticise some of England's most cherished legends about the same time. The familiar name of Great Britain seems to be due, in part at least, to a bad pun made by this sixteenth-century Scotsman. John Major, who did not believe in Geoffrey of Monmouth, published his history of England under the half-jesting title : *Historia Majoris Britanniae.* He was as sweeping in his condemnation of early Scottish legends as he was in his attack on the legend of Brutus, though he believed in King Arthur and Merlin's prophecies. When Polydore Virgil pressed the argument further home, true British patriots like Leland rose in righteous indignation to defend their country's honour, and so began a controversy which Dr. Kendrick has christened the Battle over the British History.

That is the main thread of the story—but this book contains all sorts of pleasant by-paths, such as the biography of two earlier medieval antiquaries, John Rous and William of Worcester, whom Dr. Kendrick studies with loving care as the forerunners of a long line of conscientious British antiquaries. He notes the slow stages by which scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries taught Englishmen that their country's glory had nothing to do with Brutus, and very little to do with King Arthur. The volume ends with a long chapter on Camden's *Britannia*, and there are some unusual illustrations from little-known manuscripts in the British Museum. Irish readers may feel some regret that this fine critical study makes it no longer easy to believe that Elizabeth, as a Tudor princess, was descended from Belinus who gave his name to Billingsgate. But some of them will be pleased to note a familiar name in the Dedication which stands at the head of this most unconventional book : *Ad Jo. Piperum necnon et Jo. Betjehominem Lelandi discipulos.* Dr. Kendrick's heart warms easily towards any friend who shares his enthusiasm for British antiquity.

A. G.

CHARLES, KING OF ENGLAND, 1600-1637.
KING CHARLES AND KING PYM, 1637-1643.
KING CHARLES THE MARTYR, 1643-1649.

By Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, D.Sc. London: Hollis and Carter. 1949-1950. 18s. net each.

It will be a nice study for future historians to trace the change of mind in the England of the first half of the present century that has led to a series of post-mortems on cases that the Victorian outlook would have considered as irrevocably decided. One manifestation of it, and that of a matter which to earlier generations seems to have trenched on the sacred confines of England's greatness, concerns itself with a re-examination of the position of the Stuart kings.

Disraeli, raising his voice in the wilderness in favour of Charles I, may be looked upon as a forerunner of the Stuart protagonists of our own day. To a certain extent, too, the sentimental attraction of the later Stuarts formed a counterpoise to the complacent acceptance of the ousting of their line as a thing of right and justice. But Disraeli was alone, and the most inveterate Whig might be as sentimental as he pleased about a lost cause that was safely, and justly, lost.

Whatever its antecedents, the move to rehabilitate the Stuarts is now in full swing, and these volumes of Dr. Wingfield-Stratford's and other treatises that have lately appeared—one recalls Belloc's and Packenham's Lives of Charles I and Sir Charles Petrie's *Jacobite Movement*—are the fruits of it.

Dr. Wingfield-Stratford defines his position very clearly when he states, in an Appendix to the first of his three books, his attitude to Dr. S. R. Gardiner. Gardiner, that Gladstone among English historians, from whose *History of England* so many Irish students have learnt their English history, was at one with Macaulay and J. R. Green in having no regrets at the general course taken by the affairs of the English people throughout the seventeenth century. Dr. Wingfield-Stratford, while fully admitting Gardiner's vast scholarship and industry and his own great indebtedness to his work, holds that he applied to the interpretation of King Charles's proceedings in his struggle with Parliament methods more worthy of " a Soviet treason trial than of an impartial historian". " Except," he says, " when Gardiner's conscious desire to be fair may betray him into some momentary admission at variance with his main thesis, the Charles he puts on his canvas is throughout the necessary counterpart and foil of his Patriot heroes." Just as Pym and Hampden and Cromwell and the other Parliamentary leaders " are assumed to be perfectly straight and sincere," so Charles must be " incurably false and crooked".

That this, reduced to its simplest terms, is what the classic interpretation of English history has made of the central struggle of the seventeenth century appears to be true. Dr. Wingfield-Stratford sets out to save the name of Charles from his detractors, contemporary and subsequent. Although his method may be no less of an " interpretation " than the older one, but with the rôles of heroes and villains reversed, his efforts have resulted in three most interesting books.

The constitutional problem that confronted England in James I's reign and the early years of Charles's admitted of three possible solutions, although of course it is not claimed that anybody in the seventeenth century foresaw what they were. First, all power might be concentrated, after the Continental manner, in the hands of the king. Secondly, a position might be sought in which the sovereign became a mere symbol or figurehead, while authority rested in the Parliament. This, *via* the " Glorious Revolution " of 1688, was the position eventually arrived at, the great English contribution to the practice of politics. Thirdly, sovereignty might be apportioned between a representative man and a representative body. This, substituting woman for man to allow for its greatest English exponent, was the Tudor

solution ; and, substituting president for king, it was eventually the American solution as well. (At this point Dr. Wingfield-Stratford appends the delicious tag—" Thus it may be said that George Washington drew the sword, in order that the constitutional ideal for which his royal namesake had fought a losing battle in the Old World should not perish from the New ").

The danger inherent in a movement towards the second solution is well stated in *Charles, King of England*. Since the main purpose of Parliament was to hold the nation's purse strings, " the danger was that it might in effect come to represent only the part of the nation that paid and, therefore, which *had* the money. And when wealth became fluid and divorced from its roots in the soil, the danger might take a very acute form—and the representative man of the nation be left to represent it alone against a body representing but a small and privileged part of it".

This theme is developed throughout the three books. As the narrative proceeds through Buckingham's fatal amateurishness, the ship money struggle, the shifts and expedients of the king's personal government, the gathering struggle between Laud and the Puritans and the setting of the Calvinist heather on fire in Scotland every effort is made to show that Pym and his companions were in effect a secret society of wealthy malcontents pretending the highest principles in matters of church and state but working by every means in their power to overthrow the constitution.

If this could be proven, Charles would be vindicated indeed. But as the counsel for the prosecution of Pym, Hampden, Essex *et hoc genus omne* piles evidence upon evidence, one becomes increasingly conscious of an uncomfortable feeling that a sufficient motive for their treason still eludes the investigator. Nor is the case helped by an objective presentation of it. As the shadows gather round Strafford and Laud and Charles, so does the warmth of partisanship increase. A defence of the prerogative courts and a plentiful sprinkling of good words for the king as a sincere and conscientious man and an enlightened patron of the arts are, if modern, not altogether new ; but the merciless lashing of Pym, coupled as it is with an attempt to equate the Parliamentarian plotters with our modern familiars the exponents of the totalitarian state, has the ring of an altogether novel piece of special pleading.

For all that, Dr. Wingfield-Stratford has given us a most readable and valuable trilogy, full of penetrating character studies, with an excellent account of the civil war in *King Charles the Martyr* and with more than a touch throughout of something that is long overdue—a fair deal for the English Catholics. If he is a partisan on the side of the Cavaliers, he has enlisted in support of a cause that needs championing. The truth that " shall prevail " is no monopoly of the school of Gardiner. Anything less than this furious onslaught would in all probability fail to shake the tremendous tale of righteous men forced to do dark deeds for conscience sake, even unto the execution of their king.

Irish affairs are but little touched, for these works are essentially a biography of Charles and a commentary on those with whom he was in contact or who played an immediate part in his tragedy. Where treatment of the Irish scene is necessary for the central theme, however, as in a passing inquiry into Strafford's career in Ireland, it is effectively managed. The contemporary history of the English in Ireland is noted as " a case of naked conquest and exploitation of an ancient civilization by men of alien blood and hostile faith, who regarded their victims in the light of savages, whom they could plunder and exterminate with a clear conscience".

The Irish reader must feel that all this probing behind the scenes of the classic verdict on English history might well be matched by a re-examination of our own affairs during the first half of the seventeenth century. The series of events with which these three books deal was fraught with consequences perhaps more revolutionary for the Irish than for the other peoples within these islands. If the close of

Elizabeth's reign marked the end of one period of our history, the reigns of James I and his son represented not the commencement of the next but the prelude to it; for the next sad milestone after that which marks the defeat of the Gaelic princes is the Cromwellian settlement. Dr. Wingfield-Stratford shows the necessity for second thoughts on English affairs. Will such work as his prompt a new voyage of discovery into this troublous sea that lies between the new Irish world and the old?

G. A. H.-McC.

IRISH LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Edward MacLysaght, M.A., D.Litt., Cork University Press. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1950. 21s.

This is a new edition, revised and enlarged, of a book first published ten years ago. A unique work in many ways it is a valuable contribution to Irish history. Though obviously a labour of love, it must have entailed immense research—research too in a domain where the material available is scanty and scattered. Most of the histories of Ireland are largely preoccupied with domestic feuds, clashes between clans, intermittent uprisings against foreign domination, political developments from century to century . . . . More than such, however, is necessary to get a clear and comprehensive view of a nation's past. Dr. Johnson indeed went further and declared that the most instructive and valuable portions of history are those which describe the manners of mankind. Forty years ago a distinguished Irishwoman, Alice Stopford Green, broke new ground in her writings on Ireland's past. She set out, as she said, to depict its progress in industry and wealth and learning, and to trace the forces that ruined its national life.

Dr. MacLysaght's work, though confined to the seventeenth century, is to some extent a continuation of Mrs. Stopford Green's work and reaches the same high standard of scholarship. He gives for that period a vivid and coloured picture of the everyday life of the people, their manners, habits, customs, dress, morals, food, sports and recreations. Much of the picture he draws is derived from the writings of foreign visitors, whose impressions and opinions he carefully analyses and whose value he assesses with critical acumen. It would be difficult in a short review to give an adequate idea of the manifold aspects of the life with which his book deals. Part of the fresh material added to its new edition concerns the legal system and the medical profession. The Brehon system of laws functioned over the greater part of Ireland up to the end of the sixteenth century, and the legal system which supplanted it was, as Dr. MacLysaght says, imposed ready-made instead of being the outcome of a natural and gradual development. This system of the seventeenth century was in general principles the same as that at present existing, though the laws of the period, with their sectarian bias and harshness, differed much from those now in vogue. And the ecclesiastical courts, still maintaining some of their mediaeval importance, continued to exercise jurisdiction in those purely matrimonial affairs that were at a later time transferred to the Probate Court. Prison treatment was severe; and debtors, if unable to meet their liabilities, might spend most of their life in confinement where they were often subjected to brutal treatment.

In the earlier half of the century modern medicine was still in its infancy. Members of the old Irish families in whom the healing art was hereditary—the O'Hickeys, O'Lees, O'Ferguses, etc.—continued to practise in the traditional way. In the second half of the century, however, modern methods began to be adopted. Dr. Thomas Arthur of Limerick, who had received his medical training at Bordeaux and Paris, had at this period acquired a national reputation throughout Ireland for skill and efficiency. Some while ago the present reviewer transcribed from the registers of the French university of Angers a considerable number of names of Irish students, representative of almost every Irish county, who were

pursuing their medical studies there in the middle and later years of the seventeenth century. One may fairly deduce from this that similar, if not greater, numbers were qualifying as physicians at the more celebrated university of Montpelier and at other centres on the continent. This supports Dr. MacLysaght's view that the science of medicine underwent a radical change in Ireland in the seventeenth century. There were no hospitals at the time, the suppression of the monasteries in the previous century having eliminated the only institutions that supplied such a need. And with the present advanced stage which the science of surgery has reached it is difficult to realise that its practice was then confined to barbers in their spare time!

Having finished the reading of this scholarly work, one cannot help hoping that Dr. MacLysaght may place his country under a further debt to him by giving us a companion volume that would illuminate the social state of Ireland in the sixteenth century.

R. H.

PHILOSOPHY

ROGER BACON. The Problem of the Soul in his Philosophical Commentaries. By Theodore Crowley, O.F.M., D.Ph., Lic.Sc.Hist., Magister Cooptatus of the School of Saint-Thomas (Louvain). Preface by Professor Fernand Van Steenberghen. Dublin: James Duffy. 1950. 21s.

THE present work on Roger Bacon, the stormy petrel of the Franciscan Order in the Middle Ages—of whom it has been said that to him rather than to Francis Bacon is due credit for the advancement of science—was written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Louvain under the direction of the distinguished mediaeavlist, Professor Fernand Van Steenberghen, and won the degree of Maître Agrégé of that University. A monograph of 223 pages, it is the fruit of many years' research and bears the mark of genuine scholarship.

It is not, however, with the second and in some respects the more interesting half of Bacon's career—when, after his return from Paris to Oxford about 1247, he devoted himself energetically to the promotion of languages, mathematics and science—that Fr. Crowley is chiefly concerned, but rather with his earlier period (*circa* 1241-1247), when as a young lecturer he taught philosophy in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris. During this sojourn in Paris he was deeply engaged in the study of Aristotle's *libri naturales*, which had recently, through various translations, been made available in the West. At this time he was not yet a member of the Franciscan Order—his entry into religion did not take place until some years after his return from Paris to Oxford—and this probably meant that he was relatively independent of the current ecclesiastical censures on Aristotle. Fr. Crowley's work is thus a contribution to the general question of the introduction of Aristotle in the Middle Ages, a subject which Professor Van Steenberghen has made peculiarly his own.

The occasion for Fr. Crowley's inquiry was the publication, begun in 1926 and completed in 1935, by R. Steele and F. M. Delorme of the famous Amiens MS. of the *Quaestiones* of Roger Bacon. These include a series of loose commentaries on the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle and on some pseudo-Aristotelian treatises; and their chief significance, as Professor Van Steenberghen writes in a preface to Fr. Crowley's book, lies in the fact that they are "the only known witnesses to the teaching of the Natural Philosophy and the Metaphysics of Aristotle at Paris during this period". If we take the beginning of the Aristotelian revival as corresponding roughly to the date (*circa* 1236) of Bacon's arrival in Paris from Oxford to continue his studies in Arts, he would have been among the first pioneers of the new movement.

Fr. Crowley's primary aim was to determine, by an examination of the *Quaestiones*, the precise degree of influence exercised by Aristotle in Bacon's philosophical formation and from this to guage the general impact of Aristotle in the Scholasticism of the period. For this purpose he has directed his attention to one central point in Bacon's work: namely, his conception of the human soul, which in turn reflects his views on hylomorphism, the passive and the active intellect and the creation of the soul. This theme Fr. Crowley pursues with admirable historical sense and exactitude throughout. His main conclusion is that Bacon's fundamental inspiration was Aristotelian, not Augustinian nor Avicennian. For Bacon the authority of Aristotle was pre-eminent: "he had 'heard' his works many times and had 'read' them more than others". In a man of his prodigious passion for learning this is not surprising. The translations of Aristotle were then the very latest in scholarship and seemed to open up a wide field of opportunity for the future development of philosophy. The empirical element in Aristotle would also appeal to the natural temper of Bacon's mind, and so he set himself vigorously to master and exploit the new literature.

At the same time his Aristotelianism was not pure. Elements from other sources —Avicenna, Averroes, Avicebron and Gundissalinus, all tinctured with Neo-Platonism—entered to form a not too harmonious eclecticism, the real nature of which Bacon had not sufficient philosophical acumen nor historical sense to recognise and which he accepted too uncritically. Of any direct influence by St. Augustine there is apparently no trace, nor is there any evidence that Bacon rated Avicenna higher than Aristotle. Actually he esteemed Avicenna simply because he was Aristotle's best Commentator. Hence Gilson's term *augustinisme avicennisant*, applied to Bacon, must be rejected.

All this is in conformity with the theory already put forward by Professor Van Steenberghen in his work, *Siger de Brabant*, according to which the conception, commonly held regarding the philosophy of this period, that it was a traditional Augustinianism in conflict with the rising Aristotelianism, is erroneous. According to this new theory what is called Augustinianism had in reality no essential relation to St. Augustine, but derived from the new Aristotelian literature, contaminated more or less from Neo-Platonic sources. It was thus an eclectic Aristotelianism. "If this is so," writes Professor Van Steenberghen in his preface to Fr. Crowley's book, "the philosophical work realised by St. Thomas Aquinas appears in a new light; it did not consist in replacing Augustinianism by Aristotelianism, but in purifying and in perfecting the inconsistent Aristotelianism, which grew up in the schools from the beginning of the century."

This view has had perhaps little effect on the working theory of historians, who still refer to the Augustinian tradition. It is, one supposes, here as elsewhere, difficult to prove a negative, to establish conclusively that there was no current of thought deriving from St. Augustine, which influenced Bacon and his contemtemporaries. For the rest, the indirect and implicit influence is not denied. Fr. Crowley writes: "We cannot, however, overlook the possibility that the adoption of certain theses from Avicenna or St. Augustine so profoundly affected his (Bacon's) interpretation of Aristotle that he was Aristotelian in name and in intention only and not in fact" (p. 179). There are similarities between St. Augustine and Neo-Platonism. There is also resemblance between St. Augustine and Bacon regarding the nature of the soul and the active intellect and between the *potentia activa* of Bacon and the *rationes seminales* of St. Augustine.

This *potentia activa* of matter is one of the most interesting of Bacon's views discussed by Fr. Crowley. According to this theory, substantial change is the development to completion, under the influence of an external agent, of an incomplete form, which is somehow radically inherent in matter. The resemblance to the *rationes seminales* of the Augustinians is apparent.

The doctrinal section of the book is preceded by a review of the chronology of Bacon's life and works, and here too Fr. Crowley employs his critical analysis to advantage in a number of suggested alterations, which shed light on Bacon's doctrinal development and the troubled events of his later career.

The book is condensed and Fr. Crowley does not, perhaps, always make sufficient allowance for the reader. Thus, to take an example or two, when contrasting the views of St. Thomas and Bacon on the question of the unity of matter, an explanatory note on the Thomist doctrine or a quotation from St. Thomas would have been useful. For the problem is subtle and the reader may find it difficult to understand St. Thomas's view that matter is numerically one *negative*. Likewise in the sections on the origin and unity of the soul, the number of views related makes the argument in places difficult to follow. Such compression must be difficult to avoid in a work of this kind.

The excellent concluding chapter could with advantage be read first. It summarises very clearly the contents of the book and might serve as an introduction to the other chapters. There are two printer's errors : in the middle of p. 111 " it " appears for " is " and near the end of p. 183 " the " is omitted. J. H.

A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. Volume II : Mediaeval Philosophy, Augustine to Scotus. By Frederick Copleston, S.J. Bellarmine Series. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1950. 25s.

THE need for an up-to-date History of Philosophy in English has for long been apparent and the work now being produced by Fr. Copleston, S.J. is likely to be a standard manual. Fr. Copleston always writes with ease and distinction ; and in Volume II, which begins with St. Augustine and ends with Duns Scotus, he gives a clear and comprehensive survey of a period marked by great development but also by much uncertainty and obscurity.

As a philosopher himself, Fr. Copleston understands the systems which he describes and can thus write about them with substance and depth. He is not obliged, for example, to dismiss at all points John Scotus Eriugena as a pantheist *simpliciter* ; for his grasp of metaphysical principles and his historical sense enable him to penetrate beneath the extravagances of the *De Divisione Naturae* and to make allowance for the fact that John Scotus was there endeavouring to express the Christian Wisdom in the only framework then available, which was Neo-Platonism.

The importance of this analytic and understanding approach will be evident to those to whom the History of Philosophy, too factually treated, may have appeared uninteresting and uninspiring, if not unintelligible. Yet history has a distinct rôle to play in Philosophy. Not only does it clarify and enrich principles by tracing their origin and connexions, but it also serves as the complement of other courses by treating much that cannot conveniently be dealt with elsewhere. A course of Epistemology, for example, may well conclude with Kant, leaving the post-Kantian period to be expounded in the History of Philosophy. Or, to take an example from the period covered by the present volume, much light and interest are added to the Thomist theory of matter and form by comparison with other mediaeval theories, such as universal hylomorphism and plurality of forms.

Indeed, because of its clarity, Fr. Copleston's work may with advantage be consulted not only as a history but as a manual of philosophy. Especially is this true of the section on St. Thomas. The principles of Thomism have been summarised so often that every new attempt incurs the risk of the commonplace. Yet Fr. Copleston is always fresh and he misses few of the refinements. His account of such questions as our knowledge of God, creation, moral obligation and political authority skilfully combines the simple with the subtle and can be read with sustained interest throughout.

The chapters on St. Augustine, St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus provide useful introductions to these less systematic and often abstruse writers ; and in a concluding review there are illuminating reflexions on the relation between the Augustinian tradition, as seen in St. Bonaventure, where the distinction between Philosophy and Theology is not clearly drawn, and the Aristotelianism of St. Thomas, in which Philosophy achieves a certain independence. This leads naturally in the same chapter to a discussion of the question, which has been the subject of much controversy in recent years, whether the term Christian Philosophy might properly be applied to the great mediaeval systems, including that of St. Thomas ; and here Fr. Copleston presents the opposing views in a reasonable and balanced way.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty confronting the historian of mediaeval philosophy is that of keeping abreast of the ever-increasing volume of modern critical research on this subject. How well Fr. Copleston has succeeded in this is evident from the extent of his references to recent literature. In this connexion the chapters on the Translations of Aristotle, Islamic Philosophy, Latin Averroism and Duns Scotus are particularly worthy of notice. Often the general historian of this period finds that some new publication obliges him to correct or even to rewrite history, with the feeling that what he writes may soon again be obsolete. As an example of this and according to Fr. Crowley's book on Roger Bacon, reviewed in these pages, Fr. Copleston is not correct in attributing the *Speculum Astronomiae* to Bacon and has over-simplified St. Bonaventure's view of the simplicity and origin of the human soul by attending only to the Commentary on the Sentences. But while it must be impossible, even for the specialist, to achieve absolute accuracy at all times, the immense advantage to the student of having the main results of recent scholarship made available in a general manual of this kind cannot be overestimated. In this context the comprehensive bibliography, conveniently arranged to correspond to the different chapters, which Fr. Copleston has compiled in a special appendix, is valuable.

Some will find strange the omission in the chapter on St. Thomas's Theory of Knowledge of any reference to the central doctrine contained in S.T., I, XVII, 2 and 3. In these articles St. Thomas proves that sense and intellect do not err *per se* in knowing their proper objects, and in this he is certainly defending the objective validity of knowledge. For if the object of knowledge is not something outside the mind, truth and error have no meaning in the Thomist view.

In reference to the fourth ' way ' of St. Thomas it can hardly be said that " one of the main difficulties about it is to show that there actually are objective degrees of being and perfection " (p. 344) before one has proved the existence of God as Pure Perfection. Surely these objective degrees of being are clearly evident in the analogy of finite being, since all being must have its differences in itself. Substance is greater than accident and soul than body as *being*, and the only characteristic difficulty of the fourth way is to show that these degrees imply the existence of Infinite Being as their First Cause. J. H.

FOUNDATIONS OF PHILOSOPHY. By T. V. Fleming, S.J. Sydney : The Shakespeare Head. 1949. 210 pages. 15 shillings.

FATHER FLEMING taught philosophy for many years. He has experience of people's questions and needs in Asia, Australia and Europe. He says in his Preface : " I have often been asked to recommend ' a good book on philosophy '. What is usually required in such cases appears to be an outline, which is clear and constructive, starting from the very beginning of philosophy, justifying commonly accepted principles and avoiding endlessly controverted uncertainties. There are many excellent books on the history of philosophy ; others also which deal ably with highly controversial issues ; but a philosophical synthesis with the above attributes still

seems to be lacking. The present work is a tentative effort to supply the need." The need certainly exists. There are already a few books making a tentative effort to supply it, and Fr. Fleming refers to them in his ' foot-notes ', which are at the end of the book. But there is room for more, both to satisfy different classes of readers and to try out different methods. Fr. Fleming's tentative effort deserves to be examined.

First, it is necessary to see what Fr. Fleming means by ' foundations '. Philosophy itself, he says, is a foundation, " the first general doctrines which lie at the root of all human thought". But this book does not attempt to cover all philosophy, even in outline. It is introductory, a first book which supposes other books to follow. The full plan which Fr. Fleming had in mind is hinted at in the concluding paragraph of this book : " Summing up, then, we have already proved and defended the spirituality of the human soul and also the freedom of the human will. From these theses very important consequences follow : namely, survival after death and moral responsibility for one's actions. But before these subjects can be adequately discussed, the fundamental principles of natural religion and ethics must first be securely established. The building of this philosophical superstructure is, however, beyond our present task of merely laying ' the foundations of philosophy '." It seems from this that a series of three books is envisaged : (1) Foundations, the present book, (2) Natural Theology and Ethics, and (3) adequate discussion of survival and responsibility and perhaps other matters. This plan does not correspond to the division of philosophy and consequent pedagogical method of Christian Wolff, 1679-1754, outlined by Fr. Fleming in the first chapter of this book as *the* division of philosophy. But pedagogically it seems a better plan, more suited to the progress of a learner's mind. It is a pity that Fr. Fleming does not proceed to the superstructure and give us his two remaining books, the Walls and the Roof, because there is a need.

Next it is necessary to see what Fr. Fleming means by ' Philosophy '. In chapter I he quotes a definition, " the science of first principles," which Aristotle gives for " first philosophy " and which commentators interpret variously. Then he gives his own incomplete definition by enumeration of parts. It is hard to say what you mean in a few words, at least precisely what you mean, as all found who tried to define philosophy ; so we ought rather examine what notion of philosophy is implied in the whole book.

In Chapter II, which deals with Method, four methods of philosophizing are described, of which number three is chosen, " the empirico-deductive method ". " This reasoning process resembles the method of mathematical physics rather than that of pure mathematics (which is purely deductive) or that of the natural sciences (which is inductive) ". An example is given : " St. Thomas (like Aristotle) bases his proof [of the existence of God] on experience (*i.e.*, the evident existence of real change) to which he applied the principle of causality." Then in Chapter III : " The *point de départ* of a philosophical system is a collection of obvious basic principles or axioms. These axioms are defined as judgments which do not need proof because they are self-evident. This means that as soon as the mind understands the terms (or words) used in an axiom it immediately sees the truth of it."

In these two chapters an ideal of science is outlined which Aristotle set before himself in the Analytics, but never put in practice, and which many philosophers since, including Descartes, have tried to follow in philosophy. But the rest of this book does not embody that ideal. Most of the following chapters are occupied in clearing the ground and laying the foundations—a work which turns out to be real philosophy, though it ought to be pre-philosophy according to the description above. We discover, as we read on, that philosophy is more like a small town than a sky-scraper : I mean, we expected from the early chapters that there would be comparatively narrow or small foundations and that on them a superstructure

would rise in which one would proceed, through each successive storey or proposition, up one continuous stairs to the top; whereas we find the foundations widely scattered, and no house in the town rises more than a few storeys (even the church spire goes higher only by pointing). Perhaps the following books of Fr. Fleming's course would change this view; but it seems to me that they would not, that rather the maths-physics ideal of philosophical science is a mirage, the real method being other.

Fr. Fleming's present book does useful work. It lays in a sensible solid way the foundation part of what it implicitly and rightly calls philosophy: "To-day the defence of the Christian way of life consists primarily in the vindication of those fundamental principles on which not merely Christian truth but all objective truth is ultimately based." This book ought to help to that end. It may be recommended as "a good book on philosophy". The Shakespeare Head Press deserves to be congratulated on the production. The "clarity and coherence" at which the author aimed are aided by good printing, considerable variety of type and paragraph headings.

JOHN HYDE

THE ESSENTIALS OF THEISM. By D. J. B. Hawkins. London: Sheed and Ward. 1949. 151 pages. 7s. 6d.

IN this small work the general reader, who desires to know what reason can learn about God, will find satisfaction. The style is pleasant—a necessity in such a book. The approach is natural. The examples and comparisons are well selected and well thought out, which greatly helps in what Aristotle calls the most difficult of all sciences. Very little is pre-supposed which the reader would not know, except a few points from other books of the author.

After the Introduction explaining what author and reader are in search of and why, the modern science concept of Cause as equivalent to Condition is examined in the light of the age-old discussion on the eternity of the world. Then the Pantheist and Materialist concept of Cause as Substratum is probed. There emerges a more accurate concept of Cause, which is then used in arguments for the existence of God under the successive guidance of Plato, Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas.

The other chapters of the book treat of the nature and operation of God. There is a chapter on Analogy, or our method of speaking of God and knowing Him, one on God as Being, on God's mind, on God's law, God and Free Will, creation, the problem of evil, and a final chapter on God and Religion. All are packed with careful learning, well expressed, well worth study, though often too condensed.

Chapter Eight, on Creation, exemplifies a defect difficult to avoid in such a book. As in the other chapters, there is clear, sound doctrine, in historical perspective, with illuminating comparisons. A great many important points are covered. So important are the points that one wishes for more ample exposition and discussion like that given in the early chapters to proofs of the existence of God. The over-condensation is likely to make much of the chapter difficult, it is more suited to a text-book which could be expanded in class. More particularly the part on the Presence of God is too skimpy, in spite of a happy correlation of the traditional formula: "essence, presence and power", with the three extrinsic causes. How could this defect be remedied? It is not easy to see. A small book has to select; yet, if it omits important points, it loses in interest. In England the fuller development of the early chapters is in place, whereas in this country a reversed proportion would be more appreciated.

The chapter on God and Free Will is an excellent short exposition of that difficult problem. From the arguments given it is clear that God has to know our future free acts, but the problem that remains unsolved is: How? The author scarcely gives sufficient weight to the difficulties here. It is easy to cry "mystery" too soon or to put the mystery in the wrong place, even though one has to acknowledge

mystery in the end. Perhaps that is why he says : " Scientia media lacks any adequate rational foundation ".

The problem of evil, up to a point, is very well stated and treated. But one feels that the question of sin ought to be further explained, so as to keep proportion with the exposition of free will in the preceding chapter.

The plan of the author is well carried out : " Our treatment is offered frankly as a natural theology on the medieval model, proceeding on grounds of objective logic and metaphysics and asserting the existence of God as a hard fact to be acknowledged by reason without reference to emotions, aspirations or any support other than honest and accurate thinking ". " The philosopher has his own proper task to perform in exploring the possibility and mode of a natural knowledge of God based on universal principles of reason "—" his traditional task of inquiring into the rational basis of religion." JOHN HYDE

STUDIES IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

POPE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES : Essays presented to George Sherburn. Edited by James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa. Oxford : Clarendon Press, London : Geoffrey Cumberledge. 1949. 30s.

THIS volume of essays, recently presented to Professor Sherburn of Harvard, is a fine contribution to our knowledge of the eighteenth century. The complexity of this period, the origins and the subsequent effects of its main tendencies in thought and in literature are examined with careful scholarship and with critical and independent judgment. It would be a poor compliment to say that this book is provocative—in these days when, not infrequently, literary criticism gives provocation by striving to achieve sensational findings ; but this is a series of studies which stimulates the reader and induces reflection on many questions treated by the essayists from various points of view. What truly is the nature of satire ? Are satire and science nourished by the same soil ? Is such soil injurious to poetry ? Is it true that the present century which admires the Metaphysicals also admires Pope ? Did Pope share enough with the Metaphysicals to make such a dual predilection consistent ? Or is there on the contrary, between Pope and the Metaphysicals, such a gap in outlook and in creative method that an admiration for both can scarcely be combined ? These are but a few of the themes for reflection offered in this volume.

The material, although it includes many figures of the eighteenth century, groups itself mainly about two : Pope and Swift. The most outstanding essay is surely that of Professor Maynard Mack of Yale, who writes on " Wit and Poetry in Pope". It is difficult to imagine that anything better could be achieved in this subject. Professor Mack brings to his anatomy of Pope sensitive meditation on the nature of poetry. He accepts it that Pope's work is " a very special reconciliation between the qualities of poetry and prose". This reconciliation, this claim that (*pace* Housman) Pope must be considered as a poet, is based primarily on an examination of Pope's imagery. Images are not simply devices by which the poet suggests or illustrates. Images are, in fact, a part of the poetic experience which endeavours to express itself in words ; they are the clues to the poet's inner self. Therefore when Professor Mack applies to Pope this test of imagery, it is clear that he is penetrating to the fundamental. Professor Mack denies that Pope uses imagery merely to underline statement. He considers that Pope has a subtlety not generally conceded. Since Pope's is the poetry of statement, it follows that Pope's images and their function must be controlled by logical statement. How does Pope achieve variety and subtlety of effects while allowing logical statement and " prose-like simplicity " to be the controlling factor ? He does it by counterpointing of tone and meaning, by " witty and ingenious images which, however, stem from comparisons that are, at bottom, traditional and familiar". Professor Mack excellently indicates the essential difference between Pope's use of imagery and that of the Metaphysicals, the vital aspect of which is Pope's power of compression. He has

much that is of significance to say as to the influence of the closed couplet on images. He proves his contention that " the closed couplet . . . tends to subdue images by putting them into competition with other forms of complication". These other forms of complication he examines with acute perception. He has much to say, too, of that " metaphor of tone, the mock heroic " ; and the arguments by which he develops his thesis are revealing.

Other contributors pursue from various angles the question of satire, notably Professor R. F. Jones (" The Background of the Attack on Science in the Age of Pope ") and Professor Bredvold (" the Gloom of the Tory Satirists "). Professor Bredvold charms this reviewer by his remarks on Addison's obtrusive cheerfulness which is ascribed to Addison's " limitations, his complacency, his lack of penetration". Professor Bredvold has also much that is wise and balanced to say of Swift, including this memorable remark : " The satire of Swift, even at its bitterest, never depends for its intensity on any sense of frustration ; it has the force of intellectual statement."

To Swift also is devoted the research of such writers as Professors Clifford, Williams, Landa, Davis, and the late Professor Case. Dr. Williams brings to the complicated subject, " Swift's Early Biographers," precise knowledge, remarkable clarity and directness, and a trenchant brevity of phrase : " How many biographers, in striving to relate what a man did, fail to show what he was." And again, in regard to Samuel Johnson's confused and prejudiced remarks as to the question of Swift's birthplace : " He need neither have been in doubt, nor paraded a supercilious indifference to accuracy." In " Swift's Deanery Income " Dr. Louis A. Landa brings to light a manuscript discovered amongst the records in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

It would not be possible, within the space of a brief review, to discuss the valuable work of some other contributors, but one cannot omit mention of a delightful essay on John Gay by Professor Sutherland and an interesting appraisal of Defoe's prose by Professor Bonamy Dobrée.

In the last essay in this book Dr. Joseph Wood Krutch seeks the truth about modern tendencies in poetry—seeks it with energy, honesty and determination. He is aware that Pope has his limitations, and yet he believes that modern poets might learn something from him. Dr. Krutch has in mind those poets of our time who " write for a fantastically restricted audience in styles so intricate and so highly personal as to be almost secret codes". To those who profess to imitate the Metaphysicals, yet pay lip-service to Pope, Dr. Krutch suggests that they might at least learn from Pope that minimal quality of good prose which T. S. Eliot himself desiderates in poetry.

Having said this much of *Pope and His Contemporaries*, one has not perhaps exceeded Professor Sutherland's view of the critic's function : " He can at least open the front door for visitors . . . and, if need be, comment upon the exhibits."

B. G. MacCarthy

THE LAST ROMANTICS. By Graham Hough. London : Duckworth. 1950. 15s. The bridge between the great Romantics and the *fin-de-siècle* disciples of aestheticism is in many respects a bridge of sighs ; of nostalgic sighs for a romantically-conceived mediaevalism, a refuge from the " pig philosophy " of Carlyle's day, and of despairing sighs at the realization that the Victorian Compromise was the compromise of a shark with its prey. " In spite of the real probity and sobriety of public life ", writes Mr. Hough in the introduction to this book, " national ideals were becoming more and more purely material : in spite of a prevailing and genuine devoutness, spontaneous and imaginative religious experience was harder than ever to come by : in spite of material progress, the world was getting steadily uglier."

This is a concise statement of the problem which changed Ruskin from an art student to a student of political economy. His defence of Turner led to his exposition

of the principles of art, which in turn led to an examination of the conditions under which art can flourish and to a frontal assault on existing social evils. The career of William Morris follows a somewhat similar line from craftsmanship to radical socialism. Even the rebels of Victorianism, as Mr. Hough makes clear, often retained its practical aims, its humanitarian urge towards social reform. Rossetti and Pater, taking a different line, seem to have anticipated Stephen Dedalus. " We cannot change the system, let us change the subject " ; but in Rossetti's case the subject was merely another system, one which had the advantage of being archaic. With Pater it was subjective aestheticism. Not the least merit of this book is that its author refuses to accept the easy simplification of Pater's view of art into the slogan of art for art's sake ; at the same time he shows convincingly how Pater, with Ruskin, Morris and Rossetti, helped to condition the literary atmosphere of the end of the century out of which one great poet, W. B. Yeats, emerged.

The study of Yeats, which occupies the concluding section of *The Last Romantics*, was indeed the original source of the book. During the last war Mr. Hough, as a prisoner of the Japanese, spent much time in reading Yeats's *Collected Poems*. This led him to study the genesis of the poet's ideas. Criticism, as well as Yeats's poetry, has its cycles and Mr. Hough's critical wheel turned backwards through aestheticism, across the Bridge of Sighs, back to Ruskin. In this book its reverse circle leads up to an excellent study of Yeats viewed against the background of his English literary antecedents and of the Symbolist movement. The first mainly helps to illuminate his earlier work, the second both the symbolism which he drew from Irish mythology and the more intricate personal symbolism of his later poems. All through this section, one is conscious of how well Mr. Hough refrains from the peripheral hare-chasing which vitiates much modern criticism of Yeats and of how finely his critical focus, narrowed by many sane delimitations of purpose, brings out the richness and variety of his subject's work. Yeats's return to past times is seen as owing a little to English literary fashion but much more to his belief in the necessity for establishing contact with ancient modes of apprehension. Identification with the culture of his own country was an additional incentive. " What Ireland gave him in particular," writes Mr. Hough, " was not legends more noble or more primitive than others, but the feeling of historical continuity, of writing out of the heart of his own people and his own country." Yet there was something more active which Mr. Hough seems to have missed : the sense of nationalism, diverted from practical political or revolutionary action by Yeats's experience of the Parnell split and of the I.R.B., and the sense of cultural renaissance which, at first confined to a few idealists, came to the popular surface in the " terrible beauty " of 1916. Yeats's *Easter 1916*, despite Mr. Hough's belief that it " gives the lie to some of his earlier convictions about political poetry ", is not a political poem. It does not " attempt the exaltation of a people ", but records a spiritual awakening.

An interesting question about modern Irish writing is put by Mr. Hough in considering the mythological poems : " one is driven to wonder how much of this mass of purely Celtic tradition is really available to the modern literary poet, how much of it even an Irishman can use without becoming merely archaistic". It seems to me that the answer really lies with two groups of people : our scholars and our poets. A great mass of purely Celtic tradition is already available. More of it is slowly coming to light ; what it needs is more stylistic and literary treatment by the scholars if it is to interest poets who are not scholars themselves. As for archaistic treatment, our Rossettis will do that for us ; we have our " painters and decorators " as well as our poets who can use old symbols in a new and living way. Which is perhaps an indication that a pattern is repeating itself with local variations and that an ironical time-lag has made the Victorian Compromise an Irish problem.

R. McH.

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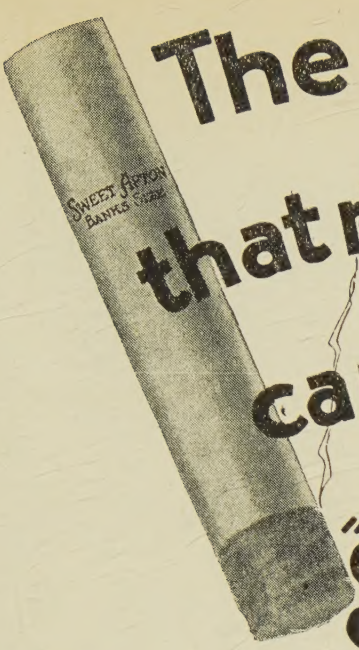

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